



# The Antiquary.



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## On the Insecurity of English Coasts in the Past.

**T**is so long since England has heard from her shores the boom of hostile guns that people are apt to forget that the security we now enjoy is due rather to ourselves than to nature. The English fleet of to-day does not come up to the standard of excellence which our national position demands, and it was this neglect of the national fleet in the reign of Charles II. that caused Londoners to hear the boom of foreign cannon for the last time. It is the duty of the historian and of the antiquary to recall these facts to the attention of the people of to-day, for they serve as lessons and as cautions.

Cromwell had only been dead some seven years when there occurred, to use the burning words of the patriotic John Evelyn, "a dreadful spectacle as ever Englishmen saw, and a dishonour never to be wiped off!" These words were written on June 28th, 1667. The Dutch fleet, under the command of De Ruyter, had sailed up the Thames as far as Upnor Castle, captured Sheerness, burned three ships, and damaged several others, and of course threw the whole of the metropolis into alarm and indignation. Macaulay has pictured in his highly-wrought pages something of the dismay which generally prevailed. Our two great diarists, contemporary of the times and actors in the scenes which ensued, afford us some glimpses into the official running to and fro and the general hopelessness of all concerned. George Monk, Earl of Albemarle, was there; Prince Rupert was there; the Duke of York (who afterwards

fought De Ruyter so gallantly) was there; and Pepys estimates truly the value of their presence when he finds them located at Gravesend "with their pistols and fooleries." Young Monmouth was there, too, and my Lords Chesterfield and Mandeville, and with them, says Pepys, "a great many other young Hectors, . . . but to little purpose, I fear, but to debauch the countrywomen thereabout." Where was the English fleet which had fought under Blake, and the English army which had fought under Cromwell, nay, under Albemarle himself; and where was the general who could command in the emergency? Sir Edward Sprague gallantly defended Sheerness while it was possible, and Captain Douglas perished with his ship the *Royal Oak*, because, as he said, "never was it known that a Douglas had left his post without orders." Evelyn, too, witnessed something gallant amidst all this disaster. On the 29th July, 1667, he went to Gravesend, and there

saw five of his Majesty's men-of-war encounter above twenty of the Dutch, chasing them with many broadsides given and returned towards the buoy of the Nore, where the body of the fleet lay, which lasted till about midnight.

But these were the isolated acts of gallant and brave Englishmen, not the commanding schemes of a capable general putting into force the defences of the nation. The fact was, the government had prepared no defences; miserable economy had prevailed in preventing anything being done towards keeping up the English fleet. "'Tis well known," says Evelyn, "who of the commissioners of the Treasury gave advice that the charge of setting forth a fleet this year might be spar'd, Sir W. C. [William Coventry] by name;" and again he adds, "Those who advised his Majesty to prepare no fleet this spring deserv'd—I know what—but—" Besides Sir William Coventry, who thus economised at the expense of England's greatness and almost existence, there were Clarendon, Southampton, and the Duke of Albemarle. James, Duke of York, it appeared, advised other measures, but was overruled. Against Sir William Coventry the cry was general, but it is only fair to add that Pepys does not agree with Evelyn, for he records that "everywhere people do speak high against

Sir W. Coventry, but he (Mr. Pierce) agrees with me that he is the best minister of state the king hath, and so from my heart I believe." The fact is, the whole nation seemed unhinged. No one would do anything against the Dutch intruders unless they were paid; every one looked after his own business, and left the nation to take care of itself. Those who were up and doing seemed to be guided each by a different impulse. The old eagerness had not gone from men like Albemarle and Rupert, but the old capacity for command seemed to have vanished for a time. The king and his brother were not to the front as their duty was. Macaulay, indeed, gives credence to the report that Charles played the part of an English Nero. On the very day of the great humiliation the king, it was said, feasted with the ladies of his seraglio, and amused himself with hunting a moth about the supper room. But Pepys, at all events, tells us differently. On the 13th of June, he says, "The king and Duke of York up and down all the day here and there, some time on Tower hill where the City militia was; when the king did make a speech to them that they should venture themselves no further than he would himself." But the whole episode is one of pitiable mismanagement and scare, and reflects credit upon no one, from the king and his ministers downwards.

There is happily no other record to make of an enemy coming so near home as the Dutch did in 1667. But though no organized fleet approached our shores with hostile intent, there is a long record of piratical attacks upon various points along the English coasts, and it is remarkable to note the general insecurity which prevailed. In 1636, the Turkish pirates were very active along our coasts. Among the MSS. belonging to Earl de la Warr, calendared in the *Historical MSS. Commission Reports* (iv. 291), is a letter dated 1636, July 13th, from Nicholas Herman to the Earl of Middlesex, stating among other things that

Our fleet is in the Downs; the French fleet is in the west country, where the Turks have lately taken three small ships of ours, and landed within twelve miles of Bristol, and carried away many poor Christian men, women, and children, as the King was informed by petition on Sunday last. The Hollanders have sent to fish, and are resolved to carry it, for they are well guarded with stout men-of-war for that purpose;

10 of our fleet are appointed to visit them. Here are 30 war ships to be made ready with all speed, and 'tis expected there will be bloody pates ere long."

Again, a letter from Ph. Burlamachi to the Earl of Middlesex, 1636, August 20th, states, "Great outrages by the Turks from the Lizard to Dartmouth; they carried many into slavery, and took many barks laden with commodities." But perhaps the most important paper illustrative of this subject is one belonging to the Corporation of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. It is written on foolscap in a fine hand, and, from the batch of papers it is grouped with, appears to belong to the year 1636.

From Plymouth it was advertised that 15 sayle of Turks were upon this coast, and that divers mischiefs were don by them, whereof their Lordships were already advertised by letters from that towne. From Dartmouth: that the *Dorothy*, of that port, of 80 tons, was taken near Silly, about one moneth since. That a collyer of Axmouth comming with culme, was chased by the Turks, and very hardly escaped. That the *Swann* of Topisham was sett upon by two great Turkes men of warr neer Silley, and were driven to runn even on shore to save themselves from them. That divers fishermen were taken in the western parts, being there a fishing, to the number of forty persons. That the *Larke* of Topisham, of the burden of 80 tons, having 15 men and a boy in her, was lately taken by them, and the master slayne. That the *Patience* of Topisham was taken two dayes after her setting to sea, towards the Newfoundland. That the person that is sent to negotiate these businesses with the Lords, have a speciall care to represent the danger the Newfoundland are like to be in att their returne about Michaelmas, unlesse some speedy course be taken for guarding the coasts by severall ships. That the annoyance we receive is mostly by the pirates of Sally, which is a place of little strength, and they might easily be kept in if some few ships were employed to lye upon ther coast. Since this information a barque of Topisham, called *The Rose-garden*, coming from Mirretto, and having aboard her neer 100 fardells of white ware belonging to the merchants of Exon, and a few other merchants of other places, hath been taken, and the barque, goods and seamen, caryed away by them. It is certainly known that there are five Turks in the Severne, wher they weekly take either English or Irish; and there are a great number of their ships in the Channell upon the coast of France and Biscay. Whereby it is to come to passe that our mariners will noe longer goe to sea, nor from port to port; yea, the fishermen dare not putt to sea, to take fish for the country. If timely prevention be not used, the Newfoundland fleet must of necessity suffer by them in an extraordinary manner. It is therefore desired that his Majesty be petitioned that some ships may be employed to ryde allways at the Barr-foot of Sally, to keep those in which are in the harbour, and to take those with their prises which shalbe brought

home by them. That a convenient number of nimble ships may always be kept upon the Irish and this coast, which may be victualled here and there, and not returne to Portsmouth or London to be victualled. That a commission might be granted to any of his Majesty's subjects, which would undertake it, to take Turks and other pirates, and to dispose of them and their goods at their pleasure, yielding unto his Majesty his fifteenes. That in, such ships as shalbe sent to Sally, seamen might be appointed by his Majesty to be commanders.\*

There are a number of other papers of the year 1636, says the commissioner, connected with measures for the suppression of the Turkish pirates, the city of Exeter taking the lead in the movement. The port of Cardiff and its vicinity, it may be added, was their chief place of refuge in these daring attacks.

The documents of other seaport towns tell us very nearly the same tale. Among the MSS. of the Corporation of Great Yarmouth are some important letters between Mr. Secretary Windebankes and the bailiffs of the town concerning some piracies which had taken place in 1634, and for which the piratical captain had been captured, condemned to death, and executed. The events here alluded to took place off the coast of Durham, near the mouth of the river Tees. How all these proceedings affected the security of the coasts is shown by an order, dated 31st December, 1 Charles I., that Mr. Bailiff Norgatt, and his cousin, Mr. Norgatt, of London, now being in London, petition the Lords of the Council, or the Lord Admiral and Lord Lieutenant, to clear the coast of Dunkirkers now threatening the ships of Yarmouth, and to waite the said shipping, and to fortify the town of Yarmouth against the enterprises of the same enemies :—

Information having been gyven to Mr. Bayliffs of certayn Scottishe and Englyshe shyping to haue been lately with their companies taken and carryed awaye by the Dunkerkers from and vpon the coasts neere about this Towne ; and it being supposed they are yett hovering to and agayne att sea vpon these coasts and feared that they doe eyther expect to take some other shipping of this towne or other places trading along these coasts, or by night to land and make some sudeyne invasion incursion attempt or enterprize eyther vpon this towne or some other parts of the countrye neere abouts us.†

In 1586, while England was feeling some of the results of the coalition made by Catholic countries against those which had adopted

the Protestant form of worship, the defence of the coasts was made an important feature of Queen Elizabeth's brilliant government. Among the MSS. of the Corporation of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis is a letter which well illustrates this. It is addressed :—

To our very loving ffriend Mr. William Pitt, Mayor of Waymouth Melcombe Regis. Veve this.—Mr. Mayor. Theis shalbe both to pray and require yow (yf your health can so permit) to meete us this day by two of the clock in the afternoone at Bolehaies, as allso to warne all theis heereunder written, or any other ells in your towne that are skillful in fortification, that they in like sort attend us at the tyme and place prefixed ; for that we are to use their judgements in vewing the daungerous places for landing of thenemy ; intending for the same purpose to lye this night at Melcomb, and so to travell therehence to mouve along the sea coast to Lyme. Thus resting your loving ffriendes, we bidd yow hartely farewell. From Wolveton, this Tewesday morning the xliiith of March 1586. Thomas Howarde, John Horsey, George Trenchard, John Willyams.

Wolveton, from which this letter is dated, was and is the seat of the Trenchards, an old Dorsetshire family. These preparations immediately preceded the invasion by the Armada of Spain, and they show how alive England was to her danger, and how determined she was to meet it.

Two curious passages from the *Paston Letters* enable us to carry back these notes to the reign of Edward IV., and they relate to the Norfolk coast, already noted as being so insecure in the seventeenth century. The first letter is dated 8th March, 1457, and contains the following passage :—

Richard Lynsted came this day from Paston and let me weet that on Saturday last past, Dravell, half brother to Warren Harman, was taken with enemies walking by the seaside and they have him forth with them ; and they took two pilgrims, a man and a woman, and they robbed the woman and let her go, and led the man to the sea ; and when they knew he was a pilgrim they gave him money and set him again on the land ; and they have this week taken four vessels off Winterton, and Happesburgh, and Eccles. Men be sore afraid for taking of me, for there be ten great vessels of the enemy's.\*

The second quotation is from a letter dated 12th March, 1449, and is as follows :—

There have been many enemies against Yarmouth and Cromer, and have done much harm, and taken many Englishmen, and put them in great distress, and greatly ransomed them ; and the said enemies have been so bold that they come up to the land and play them on Caister sands and in other places, as

\* *Hist. MSS. Com.*, v., 582.

† See 9th Report of *Hist. MSS. Com.*, part i., p. 319.

\* *Paston Letters*, Fenn, iii., 305 ; Ramsay, i., 85.

homely as they were Englishmen ; folks be right sore afraid that they will do some harm this summer.\*

Going back to earlier times, we find that our seaport towns suffered according to the wars and prowess of the reigning monarch. Henry V. was menaced at Southampton by a French fleet, but his own fleet fought well and defeated the enemy not far from that town. A very short time after the death of Edward III., Rye was burnt by the French, the Isle of Wight was plundered, Poole was nearly destroyed, and Southampton was severely menaced. In the reign of Edward I., Southampton was attacked and nearly destroyed by the French fleet a few months after the declaration of war by the English king, on July 16th. Mr. Davies, in his *History of Southampton* (pp. 465-6), tells the story. The burgesses fled before the French, who plundered and burnt at pleasure, and hung some of the townsfolk in their own houses. But on the morning following, 5th October, 1338, the citizens rallied, and drove the enemy back to their fleet. A political song commemorates this important transaction, and we must finish these notes by quoting it :—

At Hamton, als I understand,  
Come the gaylayes unto land,  
And ful fast thai slogh and brend,  
But noght so makill als sum men wend,  
For or thai wened war thai mett  
With men that sone thare laykes lett.  
Sum was knocked on the hevyd,  
That the body thare bilevid ;  
Sum lay stareand on the sternes ;  
And sum lay knocked out thaire hernes ;  
Than with tham was non other gle,  
Bot ful fain war thai that might fle,  
The galay men, the suth to say,  
Most nedes turn another way ;  
Thai soght the stremis fer and wide  
In Flanders and in Seland syde.†

G. B. LEATHOM.



### Estradiots.

By J. THEODORE BENT.



HERE are two distinct epochs at which Greek civilization made itself felt on western Europe. The first of these was at the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, which

\* *Paston Letters*, viii., vol. i., 29. (Ramsay, p. 16.)

† *Political Poems, Rolls Series*, vol. i., p. 64.

resulted in making Venice more of a Greek than an Italian town, which is expressed in one of Dante's sneers, when he wrote to Guido da Polenta, "and it is not a thing to make one marvel that they (the Venetians) do not know how to speak Italian, for they are descended from Dalmatians and Greeks."

Not only in dialect, architecture, and costume was this felt, but even the titles of the chief functionaries of the Republic were borrowed from the Byzantine court, and many of these had been transported from Rome, now to be restored to Italian soil. Just a few instances out of many.

The *Signori di notte* were the Byzantine *νυκτέπαρχοι*.

The *Castigatori* were the same as the *καταστικωτής* (registrar).

The *Sindaco* was the *σύνδικος*.

The *Bajulo* was the *βαγίουλός* (preceptor).

The Venetian names of ships were also almost all Byzantine. For example :—

Gondola = *Κοντελὰς* (Byzantine *Κοντιῶ ἐλὰρ*).

Sandolo = *σανδάλιον*, so called from its likeness to a shoe. The words *scafo*, *ippa-*

*gogo*, *stolos*, *fanos*, and innumerable others found in the Venetian maritime glossary speak for themselves. One other word is a striking confirmation of this. At Venice, "transports" were called *taforesse*, doubtless from the Greek *μεταφορά*, for to-day in the Venetian dialect *parlar sotto tafora* means to speak metaphorically. From Constantinople, too, the Venetians learnt all their luxuries of the table, their theatrical entertainments (*momaria*), and in 1049, a Venetian doge married a Greek lady of the house of Ducas, to whom most of the luxuries of the table are attributed. One thing is asserted, that this lady introduced forks into Western Europe, where hitherto fingers had been used. It is a curious fact that in the Venetian dialect a fork is still called *piron*, from the Greek *πηροῦν*, whereas elsewhere in Italy this article is always known as *forchetta*.

After the lapse of centuries a second wave of Greek customs swept over Europe, as the Turks drove out the lords of the land. In those days the Peloponnese was covered with small feudatories, who ruled tracts of country, but owned allegiance to the Emperors of the East. These feudatories, on the arrival of the Turks and the fall of their strongholds,



dispersed themselves through Europe to fight the battles of France, England, and Germany, for pay. These wandering Greeks were called *estradiots*, and about this word the etymology is curious. It is not from the Greek *στρατιώτης*, as is commonly supposed, but from a word of Byzantine Greek origin, *στραβιώτης*, which signified a wanderer, from *στράβα*, Lat. *stratum*, Ital. *strada*, "a road." In later Byzantine Greek they often confused the two themselves, for a strathiot poem of the Byzantine epoch often alludes to the feudatory prince of Argyrocastro as *δ στρατιώτης*, not because he was a soldier, but on account of his many voyages. A synonym for *στραβιώτης* is *ταξειδάρης*, from *ταξίδι*, still used in modern Greek for a journey; and many emperors are called indiscriminately *ταξειδάρης* or *στραβιώτης* on account of their expeditions; and in the modern Cretan dialect the word *στραβιώτης* is still used as meaning "a traveller."

On reaching Europe, these wandering Greeks (as Tasso alludes to them, *Sparsi e turbati fur da' Greci erranti*) were called stradhioi, or strathrioi, or, as we know them better, by the French *estradiots*. European literature during the sixteenth century was full of their exploits, and to these wandering soldiers we owe the foundation of modern military tactics.

But the *estradiots* were by no means all soldiers. Some of them took up literary pursuits, and to the pen of one of them, Nikandros Noukios, whose career we will presently follow more in detail, we owe a brilliant account of England and the court of Henry VIII. A great many of them were poets, who wrote in verse the exploits of their heroes; we have the exploits of Bonas sung by John Coronéas, of Zante, who carried the banner of King Pyrrhus, from whom he supposed himself descended. The language of these stradhioi poems is excessively curious, being a mixture of Greek and Italian. The following verse, by Blessi, will suffice to show the style:—

De megalos resteraí  
Sì mikros chie niun di amici  
Nè psomi crias, mel o risi  
No te la vorrà plio dari  
O Strathiotti palicari.

They travelled about in companies (*συντρο-*

*φίαι*), and being for the most part born and bred in the Peloponnesian mountains, they were exceedingly active, and made excellent skirmishers. The chiefs, too, kept up a continued correspondence with their old subjects, and at any moment, when an opportunity offered, they could get any number of them to fight under their banner. They looked upon Cyprus as their own country, since so many of their companions (*σύντροφοι*) had perished under the walls of Nikosia; and when Selim II. took that island, their poems speak in a sort of naïve way as if he had robbed them, instead of Venice, of a fief. It is just about this time that the stradhioi poet Blessi took up his parable, and prophesied the restoration of the Greek empire:—

I hope still one day to see that which I have prognosticated come true; the ancient state to be restored in Stamboul by a Constantine with his Greeks. Oh, my poor strathiotti!

The Turks, he says in another part of his poem, will dwindle and go back to the place from whence they came.

A good description of a stradhioi is given by Cippico, in his *Venetian Wars in Asia* (temp. 1470-74):—

They wear a shield, a sword, and a lance; a few of them have corselets; others are dressed in cuirasses of cotton, which protect them from their enemies' blows. The most valorous are those of Napoli, which is a city in the Morea, in the Argive territory (probably Nauplia).

In one or two of these *estradiots* we are personally interested, more especially in the careers of Nikandros Noukios, and Thomas of Argos, *alias* Thomas d'Arghien, who both visited England. Noukios was a scribe, and wrote a history of his wanderings in three parts. The first part describes his wanderings from his native Corfu through Italy, Germany, Belgium, and his final engagement to travel to England with Gerard, Charles V.'s ambassador to Henry VIII. The second book relates his experiences in England. So far we have a copy of the MS., which belonged to Archbishop Laud, and which is now in the Bodleian library, and the second part of which was published in 1841 by the Camden Society, relating to his experiences in England. But this MS. is defective; it is wanting in the last few pages of the second book and in the whole of the third, which

are only to be found in the Ambrosian library at Milan.

Noukios' account of his visit to England is particularly interesting. I will here give a few notes from the MS. in the Bodleian, and supplement it with extracts from the Ambrosian library. He landed with Gerard at Dover, which he describes as a "small town full of inns," and thence proceeded to "a village" near London, called Greenwich. The buildings of London struck him forcibly, accustomed as he was to the towns of Italy and Germany. "Up and down the city there are great number of houses built for the nobles and merchants, and lofty halls." Again he says, "The whole city is paved with pebbles." Of the Tower of London he says, "Here the treasure and valuable property are deposited. For they are said to exceed the anciently famed wealth of Croesus and Midas."

His testimony as an impartial foreigner is valuable as to the character of the English of that date; for he can have had no bias either for or against them.

Almost all, except the nobles and those in attendance on the royal person, pursue mercantile concerns, and not only does this appertain to men, but it devolves in a very great extent upon women too. And to this they are wonderfully addicted. And one may see in the markets and streets of the city married women and damsels employed in arts, and barterings, and affairs of trade undisguisedly. But they display great simplicity and absence of jealousy in their usages towards females. For not only do those who are of the same family and household kiss them on the mouth with salutations and embraces, but even those too who have never seen them. And to themselves this appears by no means indecent.

As to language he remarks:—

Though they speak somewhat barbarously, yet their language has a certain charm and allurements, being sweeter indeed than that of the Germans and Flemish.

But in dress he says that the English mostly resemble the French, and for the most part adopt that language in conversation.

Their nobles and rulers and those in authority are replete with benevolence and good order, and are courteous to strangers, but the rabble and mob are turbulent and barbarous.

Furthermore, he speaks of our ancestors as very fair, tall and erect of person, with the hair of their beard of a golden hue; their eyes are blue, their cheeks ruddy; they are martial and valorous; flesh-eaters and insatiable of animal food, unrestrained in their appetites,

but loyal to their king. In the country he was much surprised at the quantity of cattle:—

So many horses, and those of noble breed too, and so many oxen, and so many flocks of sheep, that wonder arises in the beholder on account of the multitude of them.

The horses for the most part he describes as white, and he was struck at the absence of asses and mules. We will presume that all he tells us of the Irish is second-hand information, for even in those dark days I fancy they are painted in too black colours. Nevertheless the following may be the view of politicians of those days in London: "The inhabitants reject political institutions and other importations with whatever else pertains to them."

Noukios took advantage of King Henry's expedition to Scotland, and accompanied the band of Greeks, 550 in number, under Thomas d'Arghien,

and there were Italians no small number, and of Spaniards, and moreover also of Argives from the Peloponnesus, having for their commander that Thomas of Argos, of whose courage and prudence and experience in wars mention shall be made in the sequel.

Furnished with a horse, arms, and maintenance by his late master Gerard, Noukios now chose to turn his attention to military exploits. The Scottish marauders were driven back, the estradiots returned to London, and their next engagement was to go and fight for Henry VIII. in France. Noukios gives us a detailed account of this armament, which Henry sent to protect Boulogne, and how Thomas, the general of the Argives from the Peloponnesus, was sent thither with those about him.—Here the Bodleian MS. comes to an end, and we must supplement it from the Ambrosian.

Thomas of Argos was named military governor of Boulogne. One day he was informed that a considerable body of Frenchmen were preparing at Ardres to attack the country occupied by the King of England. Without loss of time Thomas advanced, and Noukios, who was with him, gives us a speech which he made to his troops:—

My dear companions (*σύντροφοι*), we have come as you see into this extreme corner of the world to fight in the name of a king and of a nation which is the last of the world inhabited towards the north. We have nothing to recommend us but our renowned valour. We shall fight then bravely, making no account of the superior number of our enemies.

Descendants of Greeks, we shall be in no way scared by swarms of barbarians. We will show the true Hellenic virtue, and above all courage, that all the world may have to relate that the Greeks found in this corner of Europe have fought bravely. Thus shall we be applauded by the king, and an imperishable recollection of us shall remain amongst the people of the west, and the inhabitants of the ocean. May this coast, washed by the sea, be red with the blood of our enemies, and by our exploits may we show that we are true descendants of our ancestors.

This little speech, which reads like one copied straight out of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, is given us by Noukios in full. After the desultory warfare in France was over we lose sight of our estradiot, who presumably retired into private life, and became one of the literary estradiots. His third book is a graphic description of the siege and fall of Corfu, his native town, into the hands of the Turks, in 1537. It is not of such general interest, but describes the reasons which prompted him, like so many of his fellow-countrymen, to leave house and home behind him and travel as an estradiot.

We will just allude here to another estradiot, Diassorino by name, who was well known in the sixteenth century as a copyist and calligrapher. He tells us that he was a feudal lord in Doris, and that his relatives, the Princes Basilicos, pretended to be descended from the Heracrides, and played an important part in Wallachia and Cyprus.

Diassorino served for a time in the army of Charles V., but became tired of warfare, and settled down in Germany, near Melanichthon, with whom he was on most intimate terms, and whom he defended with his pen as bravely as his countryman, Thomas of Argos, defended England with his lance; and doubtless it was owing more especially to the exertions of these literary estradiots that at that time Greek literature took so deep root in Europe.



### London Episodes:

No. 2.—ESSEX AND HIS LONDON HOUSE.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.



HE streets of London have been, on the whole, so singularly free from those warlike disturbances which are frequently recorded in the history of other great cities, that the

reckless attempt of the Earl of Essex to raise the citizens in rebellion on February 8th, 1601, is all the more marked as an historical episode.

The incident formed the opening of the last act in the short life of one of the most popular and interesting characters in our national history. With all his folly, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, enlists our sympathy not only on his own account, but from his intimate association with the greatest of his contemporaries. As long as the names of Shakespeare, Spenser, and Bacon live, that of Essex will live with them. Thanks to the *State Papers*, and to the vivid description of the worthiest of our old antiquaries, this February march through the streets of London can be followed by us from first to last in all its details. Stow's history is a very sad one, and the association of the unfortunate Essex with our London streets lends a poetical interest to some very prosaic places.

The 8th of February fell on a Sunday, and Essex determined to force his way to Paul's Cross at sermon time, and to call upon the people to join him in his march to the Queen. On the morning of that day he sallied forth from Essex House in the Strand, accompanied by the Earls of Southampton, Bedford, and Rutland, Lords Sandys, Montague, and Chandos, and a party of about 200 gentlemen armed with rapiers only, and entering the City, cried out, "For the Queen! For the Queen! a plot is laid for my life; arm, arm, my friends, or you can do me no good." All Essex's hopes were frustrated by the prompt action of Cecil and the Government, who were prepared at all points. None of the many who saw him pass stirred to join his party, and most of them were contented to cry out, "God bless your honour!" When the band arrived at Paul's Cross, they found that the Queen had sent orders to the Lord Mayor and Alderman that no preaching should take place that day, so that the congregation they expected to find there was not to be seen. They then pressed on to Fenchurch Street, where lived one of the Sheriffs (Alderman Smythe), who commanded a body of 1,000 of the trained bands, and he was expected by Essex to join him. Here was another disappointment; for as Stow writes, "Whilst the Earl drank the Sheriff went out

at a back door unto the Lord Mayor, offering his service and requiring direction." Time was thus lost by the conspirators, but the Government was actively alive to the danger of the situation. Sheriff Smythe did not succeed in clearing himself of suspicion. He and his wife were put in prison, and he was afterwards deprived of his sheriffdom and of his aldermanic gown. The Lord Mayor had orders to close the gates at eleven o'clock, and in addition to this, barricades, formed of empty carts and coaches, were thrown up in several places to stop the passage of Essex's party. The Court was fortified and double-guarded. When Essex came out of the Sheriff's house, he learnt that a herald had proclaimed him as a traitor, whereat he went to an armourer's and demanded arms and ammunition, but his demand was refused; and then confusion seems to have set in; there was a running to and fro for what was required, but with no better success. When the party got back to Gracechurch Street, between one and two o'clock, they met Lord Burghley (the son of the great Minister), who again proclaimed Essex and all his company to be traitors. On hearing this one of them fired on Burghley. He, judging that the party he had come to oppose were desperate men, and that he should have little help from the people in apprehending Essex, rather ignominiously went back to Court. Thomas Radcliffe, citizen and scrivener, when examined before Sir William Rider, Lord Mayor, said that he stood within a few yards of Essex, who, with his company, stayed a quarter of an hour in Gracechurch Street, and that the Lord Mayor, who was also on horseback, was about sixty yards from the Earl. Radcliffe heard Essex say to Sheriff Smythe that his coming into the City was for the good of Her Majesty, the Gospel and the Commonwealth, and that his purpose was to seek those who were Papists and enemies to Her Majesty, to him, and to the land, and those of no religion who sought to sell the Crown of England to the Prince of Spain, which, before they should do, he and his company would all honourably die. Another witness, Patrick Brewe, warden of the Goldsmiths' Company, said that he was standing in the door of his dwelling-house in Lombard Street, near the Pope's Head, when the Earl

of Essex and his company were coming down towards Cheapside, and that the Earl cried out to him and others standing in the street, "God save the Queen's Majesty, and pray for her, and pray to God to bless and keep her, and to keep this City from the Spaniards, for the Crown of England is sold to strangers."\* The insurgents now marched on to Ludgate with the intention of getting out of the City, and back to Essex House. Here, however, they met with a strong resistance, for the Bishop of London had gathered some companies of well-armed men on the hill. Several on both sides were injured in the fray that followed. Essex was twice shot through the hat, and his step-father, Sir Christopher Blount, was severely wounded in the leg and taken prisoner. Now the fortunes of Essex were desperate, and he was thoroughly cast down. The party who sallied out so proudly in the morning had dwindled to a mere remnant, and the leaders found themselves caught in a trap.

It is sad to think of these misguided but gallant men in the ignominious position they were now placed in. Dispirited, they turn back, and we next find Essex in Friday Street, faint, and calling out for something to drink. Here he knows he can get down to the river, but a great chain is across the street, and his passage is barred. He appeals to the citizens, however, and they hold up the chain to allow him to pass. He flies for safety, and obtains a boat at Queenhithe, which conveys him to his own house. Here the disappointed man stands at bay behind his fortifications "with full purpose to die in his own defence." Of the two hundred who went out in the morning only about fifty straggled back in the afternoon.

Before we proceed to trace the closing scene, let us go back somewhat in time, in order to consider the causes that led to this outbreak, and to call up some of the associations in which Essex House is so rich. The house just outside Temple Bar was the first of the series of noble mansions that once adorned the Strand, and it stood on the site of the Outer Temple. When the Inner and Middle Temples were leased by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem to the lawyers, the

\* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598-1601*, pp. 580-581.



Outer Temple was let by the same proprietors to Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, and Lord Treasurer, and for many years the house belonged to the See of Exeter. At the Reformation it passed into the hands of William Lord Paget, and in Elizabeth's reign Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, became its proprietor. The latter left it to Sir Robert Dudley, his son by the Baroness Dowager of Sheffield, who sold it to his father's stepson, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, and the name it obtained from him has stuck to it, while those of Exeter, Paget, and Leicester, which it once bore, have passed away. When Leicester owned the house, Spenser lived in it for a time, and in the beautiful *Prothalamion* which was written to do honour to a marriage celebrated at Essex House in 1596, the poet alludes to his dead patron, and also to the living one.

Next whereunto there standes a stately place,  
Where oft I gayned giftes and goodly grace  
Of that great Lord, which therein wont to dwell ;  
Whose want too well now feels my freendles case ;

Yet therein now doth lodge a noble Peer,  
Great England's glory, and the world's wide wonder,  
Whose dreadfull name late through all Spaine did  
thunder.

Faire branch of Honor, flower of chevalrie !  
That fillest England with thy triumphes fame.

Spenser speaks of the high towers that rose above the house. The mansion appears to have been a straggling building near the street, with orchard and gardens leading down to the river. It must have been large to accommodate the troops of retainers kept by Leicester, and probably also it was handsome (see Fig. 1). It was in this year, 1596, that Essex rose to the height of his popularity, when he returned to England after his brilliant military exploit at Cadiz. The country resounded with his praises, and ballads were sung in his honour in every public place.

The Earl of Essex most valiant and hardye  
With horsemen and footmen marched up to the  
town ;

The Spanyards which saw them were greatly  
alarmed,  
Did fly for their saveguard, and durst not come  
down.\*

Out of this great victory over the Spaniards

\* *The Winning of Cales, Percy's Reliques*, ed. 1876, vol. ii., p. 243.

grew Essex's dissatisfaction. Lord Howard, the Admiral, was created Earl of Nottingham, and Essex lost his precedence. To set this right the latter was made Earl Marshal, and in the *State Papers* are to be found citations to certain persons to appear at Essex House, to state their claims to baronies. Then came the rupture with Elizabeth, when Essex turned his back upon the Queen and she boxed his ears. He had many well-wishers who gave him good advice, but he would not bend to the storm. In 1599 he went to Ireland as Deputy, but he hated his banishment from the Court, and all went ill in his government,



FIG. 1.—ESSEX HOUSE, STRAND.

so that Shakespeare's words in *Henry V.* were quite belied :—

Were now the general of our gracious empress  
(As in good time he may) from Ireland coming,  
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,  
How many would the peaceful city quit,  
To welcome him !

—Act 5, Prologue.

He wrote to the Queen discontentedly, and disobeyed her orders ; then, to crown all, he suddenly left his post of duty. This was the beginning of the end. He was deprived of his offices and ordered to live a prisoner in his own house. Chiefly through the intercession of Bacon his liberty was restored to him, but he was not allowed to return to Court. As most of his friends were as discontented as he was himself, he formed at Essex House a sort of Cave of Adullam. In December 1599 he was dangerously ill, and was prayed for in the churches. At St. Clement's Church over against his house the bell was tolled for him at nine p.m. The Queen was very angry at these public exhibi-

tions of sympathy, and Dr. Edward Stanhope, as Chancellor to the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, felt himself responsible. He wrote to his brother Sir John Stanhope a long letter of explanation, in which he said—

Those preachers at Paul's Cross who prayed for the Earl, were all Cambridge men, of which university he is chancellor, or his chaplains. The first are bound, by ancient custom of the university, to pray for their chancellor when they come to the Cross, the other pray for him as their lord and master, but I do not remember hearing them out of that place pray particularly for him.\*

The reckless march into the City already described did not stand alone, and it is evident, from the examinations recorded among the *State Papers*, that it was only undertaken because other action was foiled. It had been arranged that one party of the insurgents was to take the Tower, and the other to surprise the Court. Some of the less important men were to go to Whitehall by water, and to guard the water-gate while the Earls of Essex, Southampton, and the other lords were to go by land and enter the Queen's presence.† The wily Cecil was prepared, and it was found by the leaders that it would be impossible to force an entrance. A barricade of coaches was made between Charing Cross and Westminster, and the people of the surrounding neighbourhood flocked in with such weapons as they had.‡

Perhaps the wildest part of the whole scheme was the imprisonment in Essex House of such great dignitaries as the Lord Keeper Ellesmere, the Lord Chief Justice Popham, and the Earl of Worcester, who had gone to reason with Essex. There must have been a most disorderly rabble in the rooms and courts of the House at this time, for some cried out, "Kill them!" and others, "Cast the great seal out of the window!"§ And these were not mere random cries, for some swore that they would stab and make an end of the Lord Keeper and Lord Chief Justice, and when the inexpediency of this course was pointed out, others swore that it was no time then to make orations, and said, "Let us make an end of

them, and then we have the fewer to deal with."\*

When the party sallied forth on their march into the City they left the lords in durance, but when the remnant returned they found these had escaped. It is not quite certain who let them out, for the versions of the story are discordant, but any way Essex was much enraged, as he had intended to use them as hostages.

All these particulars are found in the *State Papers*, where are reports of the examinations of witnesses, the speeches at the council, and letters of actors in the scenes. It is evident that there was a widespread feeling of terror among all loyalists. There was clearly sufficient cause for this, although we can see that there was less method in the conspiracy than contemporaries imagined. All who did not throw in their lot with Essex seem to have been looked upon by him as enemies, and Cecil, Raleigh, and Cobham were mixed up together in that class.

Whether Essex wished merely to banish his enemies from the presence of the Queen, or whether, as was supposed, he had some treasonable understanding with James of Scotland, will never, probably, be known. Sir Robert Cecil said that Essex had been devising for five or six years to be King of England, and having wit and much power put into his hand, meant thus to slip into the Queen's place, adding that "he insinuated himself into favour by pretending to the people and soldiers that he was careful of them; to the Puritans by seeming more religious than others, and to the Papists by making them believe that when he was king he would grant liberty of conscience."† In spite of his popularity, this seems too absurd a project, and no other of the counsellors suggested it.

Sir William Knollys said that some of them had been the Earl's good friends; but, in cases of treason, the bonds of loyalty cause all others to be forgotten.‡ Thus Ellesmere, who had been attached to Essex, and to whom Essex had written from Ireland respecting the death of his eldest son, Thomas Egerton—"I wold I had in my hart the sorow of all my friends, butt I mourne that

\* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598—1601*, p. 365.

† *Ibid.*, p. 581.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 550.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 586.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 557.

† *Ibid.*, p. 554.

my destiny is to over-live my dearest friends" \*—was forced to denounce Essex as an arch-traitor. Much was made in the papers of the dedication of Hayward's book on *Henry IV.* to Essex, and of the acting of *Richard II.* by the Lord Chamberlain's players at the Globe, which was supposed to be arranged for treasonable purposes.

We must now return to Essex House. Another instance of foolhardiness is to be found in the resolution to stand a siege although the house had no strength. The Earls kept to their resolution until ten or eleven o'clock of the night of February 8th, when they were persuaded to yield to the Lord Admiral, for the Queen had said that she would not sleep till they were had out. Sir Robert Sydney told the Earl of Essex that the assailants would give two hours' respite for the ladies to be removed. When this was accepted, Sir Robert asked, "And yourself, my lord; what mean you to do? for the house is to be blown up with gunpowder unless you will yield." Essex made a scornful answer to the effect that they would sooner fly to Heaven. At last, however, they sunk in utter despair, and yielded the house to the superior force. Some time before, Captain Owen Salisbury, seeing all was lost, stood openly in a window, bare-headed, desiring there to meet his death. When he was hit on the side of the head he exclaimed, "Oh that thou hadst been so much my friend as to have shot but a little lower!" He died, however, the next day, and was thus saved from the death he dreaded—execution as a traitor. Essex and Southampton were taken to the Tower, and the rest of the insurgents to other places of confinement. Here ends the glory of Essex House.†

\* *Egerton Papers* (Camden Society), p. 304.

† A few words will suffice to give the subsequent history of Essex House. In 1613 it was appointed as a place of residence for the Count Palatine, who had come to England to marry James the First's daughter, Elizabeth. Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary general, was born in the house in 1592, and died in it in 1646. Lord Treasurer Southampton lived here in 1660, and Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper, in 1669. Soon after this the place was purchased by Dr. Barebon, the great contractor, and the grounds were built over. In 1674 the Society of the Middle Temple petitioned the king against these buildings, and in their petition they stated that "They have enjoyed open air westward over the orchards and

On the 25th of February Essex was executed in the Tower, and it is not easy to see how with any regard for the future of the country his life could have been saved. His last words were, "Executioner, strike home. Come, Lord Jesus, come, Lord Jesus, and



FIG. 2.—GATEWAY, ESSEX STREET, STRAND.

receive my soul! O Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." Southampton's life was

gardens of Essex House; [they] are informed of a treaty to build houses over all, and for turning the same into streets, and setting up houses and shops, which, if not prevented, will turn to the great annoyance of the petitioners, and the decay, if not ruin, of the Society. They pray the King to prohibit any building." *Endorsed.*—Read in Council 24th February, 1674. (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Appendix to 4th

saved, but he remained a prisoner until the death of Elizabeth.

The traditional story of the ring sent by Essex to the Queen, which the Countess of Nottingham kept back, will long be remembered, but there seems to be little reason to believe that Elizabeth could have pardoned the unfortunate man, or that under any circumstances she would have been inclined to do so.



## Church Walks in England.

By C. E. KEYSER, F.S.A.

### PART I.

**I**T is difficult to select any district in England which is not supposed to have been already thoroughly explored; and this remark may be deemed to apply specially to the case of our architectural buildings. In these days, when almost every county has its archæological society, there are but few churches or other ancient buildings which have not been visited and described; but in spite of this, as can be testified by one conversant with almost every work on English topography and architecture, our average country village churches still remain comparatively unappreciated and unknown. It is, therefore, proposed on this occasion, from notes taken in 1881, 1882, and 1883, to describe a series of churches in the neighbourhood of Oakham, none of which are of any special pretensions, but all possessing points of considerable interest; and although the account is doubtless very incomplete, it will, it is hoped, supply some new information to those interested in the architecture of our village churches.

Assuming that the noble church, and very Report, p. 233.) A portion of the old fabric remained, and continued to be called Essex House. Here the Cottonian Library was kept from 1712 to 1730, and here Paterson the auctioneer carried on his business. In July 1777 the house was pulled down and the present street built; at the end of the street is a gateway built into the houses, which once formed a part of Essex House. [See Fig. 2.] The names of Devereux Court and Essex Street continue to remind us of the gallant Earl, whose bust is still to be seen on the front of one of the houses in the Court.

interesting Norman banqueting hall of the castle, of Oakham have been previously visited, we will leave the town on the south, and, travelling along the Manton and Up-pingham road, being a portion of the great post road from London to Leeds in the old coaching days, arrive in a mile and a half (this can be shortened by a pedestrian) at the little church of Egleton, or, as it is locally pronounced, Edgstone. The small parish church, which consists now simply of a W. tower and spire, nave and chancel, has a south doorway, chancel arch and font, which are all of Norman workmanship, and of uncommon interest. The exterior of the church presents no features worthy of special observation, with the exception of the south doorway, now within a porch, which is a highly enriched specimen of Norman work. It has a hoodmould or dripstone moulding, two receding orders and a tympanum in the head of the arch. The hoodmould is grooved, and terminates on heads; on the outer arch moulding is a band of the ornamental star, and a bold raised zigzag, assimilating to the double cone on the angle. The inner order encloses the tympanum, and is plain, with the exception of a monster head inserted on either side. On the tympanum is in the centre within a circular cable border a six-leaved rose or star, the petals or rays being formed by continuous interlacing loops or sections of irregular-shaped ovals, touching the circular border with the outer points, the inner connecting lines being enclosed within a small inner circle; a series of shallow concentric circles further ornament the space within the cable border. Over the top of the circle is stretched a cable band, at either extremity of which is on the E. a dragon, and on the W. another animal not winged, each holding an end in its mouth, and with claws fixed upon the cable border, as though in the act of tugging one against the other. On the lintel is a bold scroll foliage pattern, with a small cable band above and a wavy line below. The abacus, which supports the arch and lintel on either side, is very massive, and has not, as is usually the case, the under side chamfered off. On the E. side of the arch it is ornamented with the guilloche pattern, and has a cable band below; on the W. side it has the bold interlaced scroll



foliage similar to that on the lintel. There is one cylindrical shaft on each side, with large cushion capital; the shaft on the E. is ornamented with a series of horizontal chevrons, while on the capital are carved four concentric semicircles with small zigzag edging and foliage within and below the outer semicircles. The W. shaft has no less than five different designs of ornamentation, with the chevron in the upper part, then trellis, then wavy line, then chain or guilloché, and then a wide interlacing pattern. The capital is ornamented with foliage and a series of oblique lines below. It will occupy too much space on the present occasion to endeavour to prove the symbolism of the sculpture on the tympanum; but there can be no doubt that the rose or star within the cable band in some way is intended to portray the Infinite Deity. On the tympanum of the N. doorway at Salford, in Oxfordshire, two animals are similarly placed on either side of a medallion enclosing a Maltese cross, and the chain may be carried a link further by means of examples at Aston, in Herefordshire, and Pen Selwood, in Somersetshire, where the Agnus Dei, supporting a cross within a circle, is also being guarded by, or the object of contention between, two similar animals. Another tympanum, somewhat resembling this one at Egleton, will be shortly noticed at Ridlington, though there the arrangement of the details is different.

On entering the nave the visitor will perceive that the church was formerly larger than it is at present, as proved by an arcade of four Decorated arches with continuous hoodmould on heads and two chamfered ribs resting on somewhat slender columns, now walled up on the N. side, thus indicating the existence of a N. aisle. The tower arch is also Decorated, but the windows and clerestory are of later date and additions of the 15th century. A row of grotesque stone corbel heads, which supported the earlier roof, still remain in the nave walls. Beneath the tower arch is now placed the roodscreen, of wood, and of the usual 15th century type; on it are still visible some remains of the original colouring. Beneath the tower is [or was] stowed away the bowl of a very large Norman font, which was found in the church

wall. It is square, and has sculpture on the four sides, but only three could be inspected. On one side is a large Maltese cross with six limbs within a circle, on another is a plain Latin cross on a calvary, and on the third is a floriated cross also on a calvary, with an eight-rayed wheel within a circle on either side of it. Similar wheels occur on either side of a representation of our Saviour giving the benediction on a tympanum, let into the S. porch of Castor church, Northants, also on a tympanum at South Ferriby church, Lincolnshire (see *Archæologia*, xlvii. 161), and elsewhere. On the pews on either side of the nave at the W. end are some nicely carved poppyheads originally on the chancel stalls. The chancel arch is Norman, with two plain recessed orders resting on a highly enriched abacus, as in the case of that of the S. doorway, not chamfered off on the under side. On the N. side it is ornamented with the cable, scroll foliage, and billet mouldings; on the S. with cable, intersecting lines enclosing beads or small pellets, and a kind of lozenge pattern. There is one cylindrical shaft on each side; that on the N. is ornamented with beaded chevrons, and has cable and interlacing semicircles on the base, foliage, cable, and interlacing foliage on the capital, with cable band below; that on the S. with a cross ribbed or trellis pattern enclosing nailheads, and has beaded semicircles on the base and foliage on the capital with cable band below. The doorway to the roodloft is on the N. side of the chancel arch, and on the same side is a large squint pierced through the wall to the chancel. The E. chancel window is of five lights Decorated, in the E. wall are two stone image brackets, and in the N. wall a late Perpendicular arched recess for the Easter sepulchre; in the usual position in the S. wall is a plain piscina with projecting semi-octagonal basin. In the head of a window on the N. side are some fragments of ancient glass, viz., a bishop and part of a crowned figure.

A drive of two miles, which may again be much shortened by a walk across the fields, will bring one to Hambleton, where the church occupies a commanding position on the top of a hill, and, as is so commonly the case, has been built within an ancient entrenched camp. It is a much larger edifice

than that at Egleton, and consists of a W. tower and spire, with nave, aisles, and chancel. The tower is Early English, with a single lancet in the W. lower stage; on each face of the upper stage is a low belfry light with two arches resting on central and side jamb shafts, and a quatrefoil in the tympanum in the head; this is enclosed within a containing arch, which also rests on jamb shafts. The spire is low, and with only one tier of lights on the cardinal faces, of similar character to the belfry windows, but having triangular peditments capped by crosses. The nave is embattled, but not the aisles or tower. Above the E. window is a trefoiled niche. On the N. side of the nave is a blocked semicircular-headed Norman doorway, with hoodmould and plain tympanum. The S. doorway within a porch is fine late Norman, with bold out-turned scallops on the hoodmould, then a series of hollow circles, and on the angle a row of twenty-two large nailheads or cones, with deeply cut intervening spaces; this rests on a square abacus, and two capitals on each side, those on the E. being grooved, and those on the W. fluted; the shafts have disappeared. The inner order has two bands of engaged roll carried round the arch and down the jambs without imposts to the ground. On the interior side of the church is a triangular-headed arch, with a keel-shaped moulding set within a hollow. The tower arch is Early English, with hoodmould and three chamfered ribs resting on engaged respond shafts with a continuous abacus, having a nailhead beading upon it. The font is low transitional Norman, with square bowl having the angles chamfered off, and massive octagonal stem and base. There are four arches on each side of the nave, fine lofty Early English with continuous hoodmould and two chamfered orders supported on circular columns, with early foliated capitals and octagonal abaci. The central column has been altered in the 15th century, and now has on its E. and W. sides a semicircular engaged shaft, and on N. and S. a semi-octagonal one also engaged and without capital. Above the arcade is a clerestory with Perpendicular windows. At E. end of both aisles and at W. end of N. aisle is a small, plain, widely splayed transitional Norman window. On N. side of N. aisle is a

square-headed Decorated window, and in S. aisle are four Perpendicular ones, two square-headed ones of three lights being filled with very elegant tracery. In the N. aisle on the floor is a slab on which is carved a cross of unusual design. The chancel arch is Decorated with semi-octagonal responds. The E. window is of three lights Perpendicular. In the usual place on S. is a small ogee-headed piscina with projecting basin, the side sculptured to represent a head. There is a Jacobean pulpit and a large old chest beneath the tower. In the churchyard are two sepulchral effigies, one very large but broken, exhibiting the bust of (?) a priest with head resting on a pillow; the other a coped stone showing only the head, hands, and feet of a civilian sunk within the surface of the slab, which is otherwise left plain. It is a pity that a resting-place for these effigies cannot be found within the church.

A descent into the valley of the Gwash and a corresponding rise will bring one to Manton, a small village situate on the hill exactly above the tunnel of the Midland Railway, the lines from Peterborough to Leicester, and from Kettering to Nottingham, converging in the valley below. The church is small and in a rather dilapidated condition, with a W. bellcote, nave, aisles, transepts, and chancel. The W. bellcote has been stated to be Norman, but it is apparently not earlier than 1200. It has space for two bells, and is divided by a large buttress placed against the centre of the W. front of the nave, having a small lancet window pierced through it. At the W. angles of the nave are buttresses capped by pinnacles, with cable bands round them. There is a small lancet window at the W. end of each aisle, with an exterior semicircular-headed hoodmould, proving the date to be *circa* 1200. The old Perpendicular sanctus bell turret remains on the E. gable of the nave. On S. of nave is a square-headed Decorated window, and there are two similar ones on the N., all with square exterior labels. The N. doorway blocked is plain circular headed with chamfered hoodmould. Along the outer sill of the N. window of the N. chantry or transept are a line of battlements. The windows of the S. chantry or transept are curious, the E. being square-headed, and the S. having two

cross transoms. The S. porch has a parvise above, and both its outer and inner arches are Decorated. Within, the nave arcade consists of four arches on each side, semi-circular-headed, and resting on circular columns. They are of a type not uncommon in this district, and seem to be of the same date as the bellcote and N. door, viz., circa 1200. Above them is a Perpendicular clerestory with two light windows. The lancet windows at the W. end of the aisles are widely splayed internally. The chancel arch is Early English, but the chancel itself has been churchwardenized. In the E. wall are inserted two quaint stone brackets, one a woman's head, the other a human-headed monster holding his mouth wide open with both hands. On the floor is an ancient stone with portion of an inscription remaining. In the S. chantry or transept are two image brackets on the E. wall, and a few fragments of ancient glass in the S. and E. windows. The N. chantry or transept has panelling on the lower side of a square-headed opening from the aisle, and a panelled monumental recess in the W. wall, both of late Perpendicular character. On a brass plate on the floor is the inscription in two lines, "Hic jacet Wills Wade fundator hujus cantarie cujus anime ppicietur deus." This brass is not included in the comprehensive list compiled by Haynes. This William Wade lived in the reign of Edward III., and was for many years a knight of the shire and high sheriff of the county. On the N. wall is another brass plate, with long inscription, for William Villers and Thomas Neuton, his apprentice, who were benefactors to the chantry, etc. The original altar pace still remains in this chapel with semicircular alabaster slab, raised a step above the W. portion of the floor. On S. of the altar is a pillar piscina with cinquefoiled fenestella in the E. wall, and further S. a very uncommon feature, viz., a ground piscina with plain basin placed on the floor in the S.E. corner. Very few of these have been noted as still existing. The font is circular, of late Norman date, with an arcade of semicircular arches and slender pillars on the bowl, which is supported on a central and four side octagonal shafts. There is a quaint wooden poor-box with date 1637 upon it.

Down the hill, past the station, and across the valley of the Chater, and the village of Wing is reached. Here is another church of simple outline, with W. tower, nave, aisles, and chancel. The tower is low and probably Decorated in the lower part; the upper stage is embattled Perpendicular, with a band of quatrefoils and two light belfry windows. The aisle windows are Decorated. The chancel has been rebuilt. The N. doorway, within a porch, is round-headed transitional Norman, with hollow and roll in arch, chamfered abacus, one banded shaft on each side, with early foliated cap. The S. doorway, also within a porch, is plain Early English. Within, the nave arcade consists of three arches on either side; those on the N. are semicircular-headed, with plain continuous hoodmould and two recessed orders on round pillars, with foliated capitals and octagonal abaci, and date from about 1200; those on the S. are earlier and fine Norman, the two E. arches having a chamfered hoodmould, then a rich lozenge-pattern, enclosing nail-heads, and one or two pellets on the face and soffit of the arch; the W. arch has some roll mouldings; the pillars are circular and massive, with scalloped capitals and square abaci. The W. respond on each side has been turned round and re-used for the main tower arch, which is Decorated; the tower stands within the nave. There is a clerestory with Perpendicular windows. The chancel arch is Decorated, supported on wall brackets. A piscina and the head of a Decorated sedile are preserved in the chancel. Traces of ancient colouring were everywhere found on the walls, but the plaster was so rotten that it was impossible to ascertain the subjects, if any, of the paintings. Small fragments are still visible over the chancel arch and elsewhere. The font is massive Early English, with octagonal bowl and stem.

The next church *en route* is that of Preston, a larger edifice than any of those yet described. It consists of a W. tower and spire, nave, aisles, chancel, and chancel chapels, and has been thoroughly restored. The tower and spire are Perpendicular, the former has a two-light window on lower stage of W. front, but not in the centre of the wall. In the upper stage are two-light belfry windows. There is a plain parapet, with gro-

tesque angle gargoyles. The spire has two tiers of windows on the cardinal faces, the lower of two-lights, the upper single lights, all within crocketed pediments. A Decorated base moulding runs round the N. aisle wall. On the N. side of the church are three square-headed Decorated windows with exterior labels terminating on heads, and one of a similar character remains on S. On the quoin of a window on S. side of nave is incised a sundial, with shallow lines right round the stone. The N. doorway, blocked up, is plain circular headed Norman, with chamfered hoodmould. The S. doorway, within the porch, is plain pointed. Within, the tower arch is Perpendicular. There are three arches on either side of the nave; those on the S. are of the transitional period, semicircular, with continuous hoodmould and two recessed orders, having chamfered ribs, resting on cylindrical columns, with well-moulded circular abaci and bases. On the N. side the arches are also semicircular-headed, but not all apparently of one date. The W. arch is pure late Norman, with a hoodmould continuous with the other two arches and two orders, the outer having several rows of zigzag ornament on face and soffit, and the inner a small half-round on the angle. It rests on a massive circular column, and semicircular W. respond with square abaci and scalloped capitals. On the bases are large claws in the form of beak-heads. The next arch has a row of out-turned zigzag and a half-round on the outer order, and plain inner rib chamfered on the S. face only. The E. arch has an outer and inner rib chamfered on both faces; the supporting pillar is cylindrical, with octagonal abacus. The E. respond has a semi-octagonal scalloped abacus. Both have bases similar to those of the S. arcade. There are traces of a lozenge pattern painted on the face of the W. arch, and of a shaded zigzag on that of the central one. Above is a Decorated clerestory, with three two-light windows on each side. The font has a massive square bowl with the angles chamfered off, and rests on a central and four angle shafts. The chancel arch is acutely pointed with hoodmould and two chamfered orders. It rests on modern piers with large foliated capitals. On the N. side of the chancel is a Perpendicular doorway leading to the sacristy; the door is also

of 15th century work. There is a plain square aumbrye in the N. wall. In the E. wall has been an arcade of semicircular-headed arches, but it has been cut through and mainly destroyed by the insertion of a later window. There is a clerestory to the chancel, with two Perpendicular windows on either side. On the S. side is a segmental-headed window of two lights Decorated, below it on the edge of the sill is a band of ball-flower, connected by a twining stem of similar character to that in the Lady Chapel of St. Albans Cathedral, round the lantern at Ely Cathedral, etc. Below it is a seat partly formed by a pillar piscina, which has been laid flat in the wall. In this S. wall is a beautiful Decorated sedile, with triangular-headed feathered canopy, capped by a finial, and with pinnacles on either side, supported on heads, and with rich foliated finials. Starting from the head on the W., and carried along the edge of the canopy, is a band of ball-flowers connected by a twining stem. Within the triangular space is foliage and an ogee-headed arch, having a rounded trefoiled fringe, forming the immediate canopy above the sedile. This is supported on a jamb-shaft on either side, each having a fillet band, the E. one having on the capital trefoil leaves, and a band of zigzag above; that on the W. being ornamented with oakleaves and a row of connected ball-flowers above. The whole is an admirable specimen of rather late Decorated work of about the date 1330. Above the sedile in the wall is a small arch, supported on head brackets, and above, again, a narrow Decorated window. Opening from the chancel to the chapels is, on each side, a semicircular arch of similar design to those of the S. nave arcade, supported on brackets on the W. side, and on semi-octagonal responds on the E., with a nailhead beading round the capitals. In the E. wall of the S. chapel the altar recess still remains, and there is a semicircular-headed piscina, with trefoiled fringe. The whole of the walls internally have been denuded of all plaster, etc., so as to leave the rough surface exposed, and the effect can hardly be considered satisfactory.

(To be continued.)





## Celebrated Birthplaces:

WRINGTON, THE BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN LOCKE.

**I**T has been claimed as one of the uses of biography that it affords a ready method of showing a section, as it were, of history; and this is surely true, for inasmuch as every great man is essentially the creature of his time and circumstances, he embodies in one figure, and often in a striking and dramatic way, the characteristic features of a school of thought, or a period, or even a country; and so we are enabled "to pass through great events, in good company, and almost with the emotions of a contemporary."

Thus the revolution of 1688, which was fraught with such precious results to this country and, through England, to the world, may be said to be typified in two of its aspects by two men. It resulted in "the establishment of constitutional freedom in the state;" it was marked by "a powerful outburst of practical progress in science and philosophy;" and it produced Newton and Locke.

In a future number we hope to present our readers with a view of Sir Isaac Newton's birthplace; for the present, we are concerned with that "most illustrious and most grossly injured man," as Lord Macaulay terms John Locke. The philosopher was descended from the Lockes of Charlton Court, in Dorsetshire. He was fortunate in his parentage, his father being a country attorney of good position, and, according to Lady Masham, "was a man of parts, . . . and used a conduct towards him when young that he often spoke of afterwards with great approbation." Born in 1632, on the eve of the civil war, he lived to see the last of the romantic epoch of Cavalier and Roundhead, and the dawn of the change. Born six years after the death of Bacon, and three months before the birth of Spinoza, John Locke belonged essentially to the modern phase of English political and philosophical thought which the revolution period ushered in, and he lived to link English thought with the philosophy of the world.

Few reputations shine with a steadier

lustre than Locke's. Unlike Chatterton, for example, he was no meteor shooting across the sky and dazzling the beholder with brilliant and evanescent flash. Locke's best-known work, his *Essay on the Human Understanding*, was the matured fruit of eighteen years' labour.

There is perfect harmony between the man and the fruits of his genius; in this respect how unlike some other authors, for instance Landor, who, as he himself said of Wordsworth, was in his writings "a serene creator of eternal things," whilst his life was turbulence itself.

The gifts of Locke were sterling and thoroughly cultivated, his works solid, accurate, and sound; so, too, his life throughout was consistent, well-balanced, and virtuous.

The political prejudice of his time has melted away like mist before the sun, and we are now able to see him as he was—a patriotic citizen. The theological rancour, which in his own day did so much to hinder and embitter his career, has long since died out. It has had no permanent influence on his fame, and his real character stands out in clear relief as a truly good man. To us it seems almost incredible that Oxford should have expelled as a factious and rebellious agitator the sober author of the *Letters on Toleration*, and the writer of *On the Reasonableness of Christianity*; but on the 16th of November, 1684, the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church ejected one of their University's brightest ornaments, and a man whom now they would delight to honour. It might be a not uninteresting task to dwell upon the change which the judgment of posterity has thus brought about in the popular estimate of Locke, and to mark how, by the expansion of modern thought, this great thinker has now taken his proper place; but the object of this little sketch is less ambitious, and it is rather to preserve a record of the birthplace of the philosopher than to analyse his philosophy, or repeat the well-known story of his life, that these lines are written.

John Locke was born in a cottage close to the north gate of Wrington churchyard. The house has since been divided into tenements, and part of it used as a school for young children. This is a not inappropriate use to which to turn the birthplace of the

author of *Thoughts concerning Education*, and has given rise to the following effusion :

Perhaps some village Locke is here,  
And o'er his hornbook drops the tear ;  
Who may fair learning's path pursue,  
And Wrington's classic fame renew.

These lines are taken from Rutter's *Delineation of North-West Somerset* (London, 1829), and from the same source we glean that "Wrington is an ancient market town, irregularly built, but pleasantly situated in a fruitful vale twelve miles south-west of Bristol." We are enabled to show an illustration of the humble house which the

One or two personal reminiscences are perhaps worth re-telling. Anthony Wood has left on record his prejudiced views of Locke, who attended the same course of lectures on chemistry. "This same John Locke," he says,—

was a man of turbulent spirit, clamorous and discontented ; while the rest of our club took notes from the mouth of their master, the said Locke scorned to do this, but was ever prating and troublesome.

His friendship with Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, and with Lord Pembroke, to whom he dedicated his celebrated book, are matters of vast interest in the



BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN LOCKE AT WRINGTON.

philosopher has made famous, and the above-named work is our authority for stating that—

Locke was born in the room lighted by the upper window on the right. It is a small plain apartment, having few indications of former respectability. It has been supposed that Locke was born here whilst his parents were accidentally passing through the town. This appears not to have been the case, for John Locke, the grandfather of the great John Locke, purchased an estate called Pilson, at East Brent, of Sir John Whitmore, Bart., in 1630, where he settled, and was succeeded by his second son, Xper., who lies buried in East Brent Church. . . . The first-mentioned John Locke purchased another estate at Wrington, which he gave to his eldest son, also named John. He was father to the celebrated John Locke.

minutiæ of the life of this great man. He was abroad from about 1666 to 1679 at intervals. But in the latter year he returned to England to take part in Lord Shaftesbury's short-lived prominence in state affairs. We can get a curious glimpse of him, however, during this return journey. Among some letters in the possession of the Marquis of Bath is one which has the following postscript :—

1679, May 1st.—Mr. Locke, who will deliver this to you, is a person of extraordinary good parts, and a very honest man ; if you make any tryal of him you will find it so.\*

If this letter really relates to the philosopher,

\* See *Hist. MSS. Com.*, iv., 243.

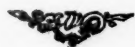
and it would seem so, it is a quaint testimony to his recognized genius. The letter was sent to Henry Coventry, secretary of state.

Of all literary friendships, that of Locke's with Sir Francis and Lady Masham is perhaps one of the most interesting; and it is well known his residence at Oates, in Essex, kept his delicate health in something like order. Lord Hatherton has a letter of his, dated August 26th, 1694, wherein he states that

my long stay in town the last time made so lasting an impression on my lungs, that I have scarce yet got it off, though I find a sensible advantage since I came hither.\*

It was this illness to which he ultimately succumbed on October 28th, 1704, in the seventy-third year of his age, attended by his faithful friend, Lady Masham.

Somersetshire folk can boast of a goodly list of worthies, some of whose names are "familiar in our mouths as household words." Thus they can point to Roger Bacon, the man of science; to Blake, the patriot and warrior by land and sea; to Pym, the politician; to Fielding, whom Byron has called "the prose Homer of human nature"; but of none need they be prouder than of John Locke, whose *Essay on the Human Understanding* bids fair to last as long as English literature itself.



## Roman Villa, Morton, near Brading.

**M**ESSRS. J. E. and F. G. H. Price, who, for the last four years, have been steadily developing the many points of interest connected with this interesting place, have recently heard from Mr. J. Aplin Webster, to whose intelligent care of the remains both they and the public are so much indebted, to the effect that he has been pursuing some investigations in connection with the well, which is

\* See *Hist. MSS. Com.*, v., 296.

situated in the northern wing of the building. We append Mr. Webster's report, which will be doubtless interesting to those who during the past summer have had an opportunity of visiting the villa. In clearing the northern wing of the villa, in May 1881, the earth in one spot appeared looser than in all other places, and on excavating a few feet the bar still descended with but slight resistance, so that at last it was clear that either a well or some well-defined pit must have existed. This was cleared out to a depth of 78 ft., when—on the 1st June—the work had to be given up on account of the rapid inflow of water, which, on the 4th June, had risen to 8 ft. 4 in. There were no signs of any steaning or lining to this well, but the sides were quite firm the whole way down, showing in some places the marks of the original cutting and the grooves on both sides, through which a large flat stone, 5½ ft. by 4, had descended for some 30 ft. Many things of interest were discovered; squared and worked stone, Roman pottery, tiles, burnt wood, bones, and a considerable portion of a human skeleton, etc.

During the next three years the well was found to be filling up to a slight extent partly from a vein of looser sand that crossed it at about 70 ft. down, and partly from the irrepressible tendency of visitors to throw down stones or any rubbish they could pick up.

The depth of water, of course, varied with the seasons. In November 1884, the water level all over the Island being lower than it had ever been known to be, many of the springs and wells in the vicinity having gone dry, and the deep well of Carisbrooke Castle being reduced to less than 1 ft. of water, it was considered advisable to make another attempt to reach the bottom, and the excavation was accordingly resumed on the 26th November, when the well was found to be 75 ft. 6 in. in depth, with about 8 in. of water. The first 3 or 4 ft. consisted merely of stones and rubbish that had been thrown down during the last three years; after that, sand and a thick, heavy, greasy clay continued down to the bottom, which was reached in 90 ft. 1 in.; the diameter of the well was about 4 ft. 3 in. throughout, and the firm hard sides continued all the way down with the exception of some holes or caves (one of

considerable extent, in which three or four men could stand) in the looser sand mentioned above, and the bottom was of the same compact hard sand as the sides, and had evidently never been further disturbed.

Very few things were found in the last 10 ft. Some large sea-worn boulders, such as were used in the walls, flints, and a few pieces of Roman pottery, all the way down to within a few feet of the bottom, pieces of burnt wood, so completely destroyed that it was with great difficulty that a few pieces were extracted from the tenacious clay; even where the wood itself had disappeared, the clay in many places showed the black streaks left by it. This clay is rather curious, being unlike anything else in the neighbourhood, streaked and lumped in various colours, light grey, yellow, and brown; as we got near the bottom the clay ceased, and almost pure sand-mud succeeded, evidently washed in from the sides. During the last excavation, which lasted four days, the water was constantly leaking in through the sides, but not to any great extent; about 3 or 4 ft. would collect during the night. The depth on the 1st December (two days after reaching the bottom), was only 6 ft. 4 in.; this will probably be doubled by next spring.

(Signed) J. A. WEBSTER,  
Brading, Isle of Wight.



### Digit Folklore.

**R**ETTY things by the score have been written about fingers *per se*; but the individuality of toes—hosen hidden as they usually are—is so often merged by poets in that of the foot, that the lower ten have certainly received less notice than they deserve.

There is nothing inherently ridiculous in toes, and yet it is to be observed that people seldom speak of them with the respectful gravity that attends the mention of their other members, the nose being an occasional exception. Stately Milton's immortal synec-

doche, "the light, fantastic toe," is one of the funny man's stock quotations; and a case of gout in the big toe evokes smiles as well as sympathy. Now of all digits, this is the very one that we should regard with deepest reverence. Consider: nothing lower in the scale of being than man possesses a great toe. Scientifically inaccurate was the witty verse-maker who wrote of evolution:—

There was an ape in the days that are earlier;  
Centuries passed, and his hair became curlier;  
Centuries more gave a thumb to his wrist;  
Then he was Man and a Positivist.

A thumb is not the mint-mark of current humanity,—monkeys have thumbs, and use them deftly,—but no less an authority than Darwin cites, with apparent approval, the opinion of no less an authority than Professor Owen, that the great toe,

which forms the fulcrum when standing or walking, is perhaps the most characteristic peculiarity in the human structure (*Origin of Man*, i. 16).\*

Toes are not fingers undeveloped,  
But diverse.

Does it ever strike us that probably the first amusement *pur et simple* we ever had was in connection with our toes? Or ever our fingers were strong enough to open of themselves, and we could enter into the joke of having them pulled about, titillating touches on the toes had a charm for us, as they have for contemporary infants, and may continue to have for the doubtless highly superior babe of the future. As intelligence dawned, our nurses were ready to salute it with "a sort of Runic rhyme," which they recited by way of accompaniment to the pedal exercise. Mine is a bad memory, and I cannot recall my own experience at this stage of existence; but I have not forgotten the curious names my mother's handmaid—a Lincolnshire woman—gave to the toes of the little ones who were my successors on the throne of her lap. Touching each one gently in succession, and beginning with "the Grand Panjandrum him-

\* Had our almost omniscient Shakespeare known this, perhaps he might not have made Menenius Agrippa contemptuously term the First Citizen of *Coriolanus*, i. 1, "the great toe" of the assembly.—*First Cit.*—I the great toe! Why the great toe?

*Men.*—For that, being one o' the lowest, basest, poorest,  
Of this most wise rebellion, thou go'st foremost.



self," she dubbed them respectively, "Toe Type, Penny (or Perry) Wipe, Tommy Tistle, Billy Whistle, and Tripping-go;" all of which, in default of orthographical direction, I have been obliged to spell phonetically. Nobody in our nursery had any notion why the names were thus appropriated, nor have I yet found a satisfactory explanation in the big world beyond it. I do not for a moment believe that Toe Type was intended to designate a typical toe! It may perhaps be a Lincolnian rendering of *toe-tip*, for in that brave shire we type or tipe a thing over, when some other folk would tip it up, or overturn it. On the same principle, the Wipe attached to that (to me) inscrutable Penny may be *wip*, a contraction of wippet, a child, or a dwarf; though it must not be forgotten that we have an actual wipe or pywipe in that bird of many aliases, the lapwing. I may conjecture that Tistle would be Thistle, if duly pronounced; and may fancy that Tripping-go is suggestive of Terpsichore.

The history of the pigs who debated about going to the wood in search of their mammy, and that of the more familiar five who severally went to market, stopped at home, feasted, fasted, and wept, are dramas which I am convinced belong properly to the toes, though fingers are not unusually cast for the parts. What, in "the human form divine," can bear a stronger likeness to a porcine litter than a fair row of new-made toes? It is only because these are so soon cloistered in shoes and stockings that the handier fingers are called upon to play the rôles,—fingers which are too long and spiky to be fit representatives of the denizens of a sty. In its original meaning, the word *pig* seems to have connoted comparative smallness and dependence; at present, our instinct with regard to the significance of it has somewhat perverted, by reason of the bacon-increasing proclivities of the age.

The fact that toes are but seldom *en evidence* is no doubt one reason why so little folk-lore web has been spun about them in civilized countries. In Scotland,\*

\* Gregor's *Folk-lore of the North-east of Scotland* (F. L. S.), 26; *Notes and Queries*, 5th S., ix, 286, 476.

where to be "barefit" does not mean abject poverty, as it would do on this side the border, the lassies have good chance of finding out what man has second and third toes of nearly equal length, and who is therefore likely to be unkind to his wife. "Lucken toes"—i.e., of happy augury—are joined together by a skin like those of water-birds, and, as Rumour used to have it, like those of fen-men. The day of the week on which you trim your nails (either of fingers or toes) is not a matter of indifference; recollect that

Friday's hair and Sunday's horn  
Goes to the D'ule on Monday morn.\*

and that the operation, whensoever performed, is big with fate:

Cut them on Monday, cut them for news;  
Cut them on Tuesday, a new pair of shoes;  
Cut them on Wednesday, cut them for health;  
Cut them on Thursday, cut them for wealth;  
Cut them on Friday, cut them for woe;  
Cut them on Saturday, a journey you'll go.  
Cut them on Sunday, cut them for evil,  
For all the week after you'll be ruled by the devil.†

Another version ‡ transfers to Wednesday and Thursday nail-trimming the consequences here attributed to that of Monday and Tuesday, and *vice versa*. The connection of well-being and riches with the earlier days of the week tallies with the wedding prescription—

Monday for health,  
Tuesday for wealth,  
Wednesday the best day of all (etc.).

Piaculous it was unto the Romans (notes Aubrey §) to pare their nails upon the Nundine, observed every ninth day, and was also feared by others upon certain daies of the weeke, according to that of Ansonius "Ungues Mercurio, barbam Jove, Cypride crines."

This objection to cut nails on a day named after the god of the "light-fingered" fraternity brings to mind the common English fancy that a child will grow up to be a thief if knife or scissors be applied to his claws

\* Ray's *Complete Collection of English Proverbs*. An authority, quoted by Brand (iii. 178), says that Jews make a practice of cutting their nails on a Friday.

† From an old note-book of my own. No reference to the original source.

‡ Halliwell's *Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales*, 227.

§ *Remnants of Gentilism and Judaism* (F. L. S.), 111.

before he is twelve months old. Nurses who know what's what, break or bite off the superfluous horn, or else take care to avert evil by letting the cuttings fall on a Bible. The correspondence of sound between *steel* and *steal* may have served to strengthen the superstition, which is affiliated to that which in many cases forbade the use of metal knives for ceremonial purposes.\* Nail-parings are used in folk-medicine, in that branch which springs from the belief that there is invisible communion between a human body and whatsoever may have once formed a part of it; and which flourishes on the assumption that by judicious treatment of the latter, a cure on the former may by force of sympathy be vicariously wrought.

In the county of Moray (as Mr. Black records†) the people were formerly in the habit of paring the nails of the fingers and toes of persons suffering from hectic and consumptive diseases. The parings were put in a rag, cut from the patient's clothes, and waved three times round his head, with the cry, *Deas soil*. After this the rag was buried in some unknown place,—

no doubt with the expectation that, as it and its contents vanished, the disease of which they were the *scape* or representative would likewise disappear. As is but natural, the same principle is pressed into the service of evil; sorcerers know well enough how to make bad use of nail-clippings, and the prudent will beware of leaving them about in an unguarded manner. Those made in performing the last toilet of the dead go towards building the *Naglfar*,‡ a ship which will have to be completed before the world can come to an end. Such is the old Scandinavian story. A French chap-book, *L'Ancienne et la Nouvelle Clef des Songes*, assures me that to dream of nails at all forebodes a quarrel or dispute; to dream of long ones, disorder in one's affairs; of short, poverty, misery; of nails torn out, unheard-of suffering. Curiously enough, the *Universal Dreamer* takes no cognizance of any vision of the kind.

There is an amusing catch about nails, which demonstrates the power of punctuation:

Every lady in this land  
Has twenty nails upon each hand;  
Five and twenty upon hands and feet.  
All this is true, without deceit.

And being on the subject of feminine claws (*passer-moi le mot*), I would note as a sign of the growth in grace of womankind this fact: no lady of these times, moving in a circle of society corresponding to that adorned by Henry VI.'s Aunt of Gloucester, could seriously term her nails her "ten commandments" (2 *Henry VI.*, i. 3). Even in the lowest classes, as far as one can judge from newspapers, domestic law would seem to be represented rather by two nailed boots, than by ten nailed fingers.

Onchymancy,\* or divination by means of the nails, was sometimes practised by blacking those of a boy, and then getting him to interpret the markings, which were no doubt in every sense as oracular as the coffee grounds and other media which have been similarly employed. At present the white spots which sometimes appear on nails are regarded with interest as being premonitory of coming events. They are collectively called gifts, and we are assured—

A gift on the thumb  
Is sure to come;  
A gift on the finger's  
Sure to linger.

Another formula goes into greater detail, and thus denotes the gifts of the respective fingers, beginning with the thumb: "1, gift; 2, friend; 3, foe; 4, beau; 5, journey to go." Dr. Thomas Browne writes:†

That temperamentall dignotions and conjecture of prevalent humours may be collected from spots in our nails, we are not averse to concede. But yet not ready to admit sundry divination vulgarly raised upon them. Nor doe we observe it verified in others, what Cardan discovered as a property in himself: to have found therein some signs of most events that ever happened unto him. Or that there is much considerable in that doctrine of Cheiromancy, that spots in the top of the nailes doe signifie things past; in the middle, things present; and at the bottome, events to come. That white specks presage our felicity, blew ones our misfortunes. That those in the thumb have significations of honour, those in the forefinger of riches, and so respectively in other fingers according to Planetical relations, from whence they receive their names.

\* See Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, ch. viii.

† *Folk-Medicine* (F. L. S.), 55, 56; see also 72.

‡ Stallybrass's *Grimm's Teutonic Mythology*, ii. 814.

\* Howitt's *Ennemoser's History of Magic*.

† *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, Book V., ch. xxii.

The thumb in chiromancy we give Venus,  
The forefinger to Jove, the midst to Saturn,  
The ring to Sol, the least to Mercury,

says Subtle to his dupe Druggier in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*; (a.i.) thus explaining the term "mercurial finger," which he has used a few lines before, and showing what Browne meant by "planetical relations." That, among people who put more trust in heavenly spirits than in heavenly bodies, the fingers were dedicated to divine and saintly beings, it need not surprise us to discover. Among the many curious matters recorded in Hone's *Every Day Book* there is mention (ii. 48) of two old wood-cuts in the British Museum, in which every joint of every finger is thus appropriated. On the right hand

the top joint of the thumb is dedicated to God; the second joint to the Virgin, the top joint of the forefinger to Barnabas, the second joint to John, the third to Paul; the top joint of the second finger to Simeon Cleophas, the second joint to Tathideo, the third to Joseph; the top joint of the third finger to Zaccheus, the second to Stephen, the third to Luke; the top joint of the little finger to Leatus, the second to Mark, the third joint to Nicodemus. Left hand. The top joint of the thumb is dedicated to Christ, the second joint to the Virgin; the top joint of the forefinger to St. James, the second to St. John the Evangelist, the third to St. Peter; the first joint of the second finger to St. Simon, the second joint to St. Matthew, the third to St. James the Great; the top joint of the third finger to St. Jude, the second joint to St. Bartholomew, the third to St. Andrew; the top joint of the little finger to St. Matthias, the second joint to St. Thomas, the third joint to St. Philip.

In ecclesiological iconography a hand is often used to indicate the Triune God Himself, and this is frequently in the act of blessing. I observe that Didron says: "The position of the fingers does not appear to be intended in our Church [the Roman] to be symbolic."\* He goes on to note that with the Greeks an effort is made to represent the monogram I.C. X.C., of Jesus Christ: the forefinger is extended for I, the middle one curved into the form of C, the ancient *sigma*, whilst the thumb and third finger make X, and the little finger bends into another C.

\* *Christian Iconography*, 206 note.



## The True Story of the Leicester Inquests.

By J. H. ROUND.

### PART II.

**E**T us continue the inquiry as to how far Mr. Jeaffreson can be said with truth to have "brought into fuller light" the verdict of the Leicester

jurors.

(4) It is described on both occasions (pp. 404a, 406a) by Mr. Jeaffreson as dealing with the "origin of Bridge Silver and (*sic*) Pontage." Now, as I pointed out in the *Athenæum*,

Both these terms relate to one and the same imposition. The document records two inquisitions on *two separate* imposts "gouel-peniis" (or Gouelpens") and "Brigge-siluir" (or "Pontagium.")\*

Consequently we have here an instance of what I have termed Mr. Jeaffreson's "careless" editing. This is the more inexcusable as he at the same time correctly describes the earl's charter as relating to "Bridge-silver and Gable(*sic*)-pence" (p. 405a), and the rate subsequently levied as "for the redemption of Pontage and Gable(*sic*)-pence" (p. 406a). An error, once well started, is sure to spread widely, and accordingly Mr. Jeaffreson's erroneous description was followed even by Mr. Maunde Thompson, as was also his erroneous date.

(5) Small though it may appear at first sight, the conversion of "Gouelpeniis" by Mr. Jeaffreson into "Gablepence" is, as we shall see, of vital import, besides being in itself unwarranted.

(6) To quote once more from the *Athenæum* :—

Lastly, Mr. Jeaffreson effectually destroys the delicate touch of local colour afforded by the mention of a "son of Hakon" in the old Danish borough when he renders "Nicholaus, filius Acon," by "Nicholas, the son of Acres." Mr. Thompson and those who copied from him have at least kept clear of this.†

To this Mr. Jeaffreson retorted with what he meant, we must presume, for wit :—

Surely, as this delicate touch is left in all its love-

\* "Inquisicio facta . . . de denariis qui vocabantur Gouelpennis et de Pontagio, qualiter et quâ de causâ primo dati erant et capti" (p. 406a).

† Review in *Academy* of 25th March, 1882.

‡ *Athenæum*, 9th August, 1884.

liness in the Latin memorandum, Mr. Round might bear up more bravely under the injury done to his feelings by the writer, who had sufficient grounds and good reasons for putting "Acres" into the translation.\*

Subsequently, in the *Academy*, I again called attention to this absurd blunder of Mr. Jeaffreson, pointing out that in his ingenious hands, *parturiunt urbes*, and observing that for his asserted "sufficient grounds and good reasons" the public has waited, and is likely to wait, in vain.† That observation I repeat, and challenge Mr. Jeaffreson to produce them.

I have thus proved, step by step, *firstly*, that this document was neither "discovered" nor "regained" by Mr. Jeaffreson; *secondly*, that he cannot even be said to have "brought" it "into fuller light." I now come to my *third* point, namely, that

He has accepted and proclaimed as genuine a story which is transparently and ludicrously false, and which is "instructive" in a sense very different from that which Mr. Jeaffreson would wish (*ante*, p. 26).

It is necessary, at the outset, to draw attention to the fact that Mr. Jeaffreson's edition of this well-known story differs in two important respects from any other that we have; for, in the first place, it is the work, as he himself reminds us, of a professional "explorer of archives" (p. 407a), an official appointed by Government for the purpose, and qualified, as we gather from his own remarks (*ante*, p. 25), to speak with no ordinary authority and caution on the credibility of manuscripts and charters. In the second place, it was not enough for Mr. Jeaffreson to give us both an extension and a translation of the verdict. He could not rest content with that. Happy indeed would it have been for him if he had left it to speak for itself, if, being incompetent to extract the truth, he had at least abstained from embracing the false!

Now, the cause of Mr. Jeaffreson thus committing himself is to be found in the opportunity which this document presents for the display of that erratic and somewhat garrulous eloquence by which his reports are so strangely garnished. We have seen that one who studies charters is either, to Mr. Jeaffreson, an "archivistic specialist," or a "sceptical connoisseur of diplomatic creden-

tials."\* Regardless of Johnson and Lindley Murray, the sight of Lord Braybrooke's "domestic archives" moves him to admiration for "the caligraphic pains" † (not, as might be imagined, some strange disorder) in which our forefathers indulged. We may not, it is true, discover from Mr. Jeaffreson the true story of the Leicester inquests; but if we do not find that which we might expect, we do, it must at least be admitted, in his reports find that which we have no right to expect within the covers of an official blue book. We are enabled, with breathless interest, to follow Mr. Jeaffreson's movements. At Lancing, for instance, we see him working "in a scholar's studious chamber, to which the sea breeze comes over a fine sweep of Sussex downs"; ‡ at Barnstaple, we behold him no less happily installed in "the bright, sunny room, commanding a lovely view of Barnstaple Bay, with Lundy Island in the distance," where he is the guest of "the hospitable master of one of the pleasantest places in the neighbourhood." § Nor are these the only "unknown historical and literary materials" ¶ that Mr. Jeaffreson has placed at the disposal of "Her Majesty's Commissioners on Historical MSS." ¶ They have lately learnt from him, of Great Yarmouth, that it is a "maritime town in which Charles Dickens laid some of the principal and most pathetic scenes of one of his noblest novels"; \*\* and of Stratford-on-Avon, that its "people" may boast, if not of Mr. Cordy Jeaffreson himself, at least of another "bright genius, that has made the name of their borough a household word in every civilised region of the earth"! ††

And so this verdict of the Leicester jurors calls up before him "a striking picture of the old borough town, with its one main street bordered by gabled houses"; he sees, in fancy, the "trial by battle," and hears the tumult of "a lawless outbreak"; even "George the Third" flits across the scene. In short,

\* 8th Report Hist. MSS., App. I., 269b.

† *Ibid.*, I., 277a.

‡ 5th Report Hist. MSS., App., p. 387a.

§ 9th Report Hist. MSS., App. I., pp. 203-4.

¶ Circular of the Secretary to the Royal Commission *ut supra*.

¶ 8th Report Hist. MSS., App. I., p. 403b.

\*\* 9th Report Hist. MSS., App. I., p. 299a.

†† *Ibid.*, p. 289b.

\* *Athenæum*, 16th August, 1884.

† "Curiosities of Official Scholarship" (*Academy*).



It is not often that an explorer of archives comes upon a single manuscript that affords so large an amount of information touching the social history of England in the eleventh [sic]\* and two following centuries.†

The only writer, so far as I know, who has hitherto thrown a doubt on this famous story, is that eminently cautious and profound historian, Dr. Stubbs (now Bishop of Chester), who, having given its gist (in 1873) as "illustrative of the process by which new liberties were obtained," was careful to add—"The story is found in an inquest of 39th [sic] Hen. III., which, I fear, is not good authority."‡ And though he bids us "compare, however," certain charters elsewhere, they will be found in no way to bear on the credibility of the story. Dr. Stubbs, we must remember, knew of this document only at second-hand, and referred to it only in a passing allusion. He, therefore, contented himself with the obvious criticism that would naturally occur to any trained historian, namely, that the parole testimony (for such it practically was) of these Leicester burgesses to events stated to have happened about a century and a half before, could scarcely be accepted as "good authority," or, indeed, we may add, considering the circumstances, as any authority at all.

Had I time I might enlarge on the importance of this criticism in its bearing on the system generally. Such an investigation would lead to results of extreme interest, but for the present I must confine myself to this particular verdict. Now though it is easy enough to impugn its authority on this obvious and general ground, it is by no means so easy to establish by proof the falsehood, in this particular instance, of the facts sworn to, and to disentangle what I have ventured to term "The true story of the Leicester Inquests." This, however, is my task.

The key to the problem, when revealed, will appear so simple that I should really be ashamed to claim credit for the discovery, were it not that those who have preceded me have so entirely and strangely missed it.

\* I showed, it will be remembered (*ante*, p. 30), that even if the story were true, its events could not possibly have happened in the "eleventh" century.

† 8th Report Hist. MSS., App. I., p. 407a.

‡ Const. Hist., i., 425-6.

That key is the word "gable." How so obvious a case of "Volks-etymologie" can have imposed on writer after writer absolutely passes my comprehension. Few words should be more familiar to the student of mediæval England than the Anglo-Saxon *gafol*, with its Latin equivalent *gabulum*. For its early history we cannot do better than turn to that very valuable work, *The English Village Community*.\* Mr. Seebohm traces it from its origin in the German *gaben* ("to give"), through its sense of "tribute," to that of "payments in money, or kind, or work, rendered by way of rent" (p. 78). He shows that, as early as the seventh century, it is to be found in the "Laws of Ine" as designating "the customary tribute" due from the tenant to the lord (pp. 142-3), and that in the *Rectitudines* of the tenth (?) century its meaning is most clearly defined (pp. 132, 140). Its development I conceive to have been as follows: From being a general term, denoting tribute or rent, in money, kind, or labour, it acquired by composition a more exact denotation. Thus we learn from the *Rectitudines* that the "gebur" paid his *gafol* (or *gabulum*) (1) in money. This was known as "*gafol-pence*" (or *pennies*)—the "*govel-pens*" (or *peniis*), in fact, of the Leicester Inquest; (2) in kind, as *honey-gafol*, *meat-gafol*, *ale-gafol*, and *gafol-barley*; (3) in labour, as *gafol-yrth* (ploughing), *gafol-wood* (chopping), *gafol-mowing*, *gafol-fencing*, or "*gavel-rep.*"† In the ordinary course of social development there was a tendency, even from early times, to commute these two latter kinds of *gafol* for money payments.‡ Hence the term *gabulum* (or *land-gabulum*) became practically equivalent to a quit-rent paid in money alone. In this sense it occurs freely (more especially in towns) under the Norman kings. *Gabulum* is recorded in Domesday (i., 154) among the dues payable

\* *The English Village Community*. By Frederic Seebohm (Longmans).

† "Et metet in autumnu 2 acr' frumenti, vel 2 acr' avene vocat' *Gavelrep.*"—(MS.) *Minus Registrum Abb. S. Johann Colcestr'*, fo. 77 ("Opera Villanorum").

‡ See, for instance, at Leicester itself, the charter of Robert "Fitz-Parnel," the last of the Beaumont earls, remitting to his men of Leicester, *inter alia*, the pennies (*denarii*) which they had hitherto paid in commutation of reaping their lord's corn.

by the burgesses of Oxford; and the Domesday of Winchester, unde Henry I., had for its avowed object the ascertaining of the *landgablum* paid by the burgesses in the days of Edward the Confessor. On the Continent this ancient payment was no less familiar than among ourselves, and in France it lingered on to the Revolution under the odious name of the *Gabelle*.

That Mr. Jeaffreson should have failed to make this discovery, when devoting to this record such peculiar attention, is the more strange as in this same volume, nay in the report immediately preceding, and actually drawn up by himself, we find mention of "the Gabul Rentes" at Chester,\* and even—by the combination of a pleonasm with a double corruption—of "the long-gable rent,"† a form evolved, through *land-gablum*, from the original *land-gafol*, or *gafol*, of Chester, duly entered in "Domesday" as its *gablum*.‡

But stranger still is the fact that, only a few pages before his "droll mistake" (to use an expression of his own §), he calls attention, in his Chester Report, to an entry of payments for "potations in the penthouse," as showing that the erroneous derivation of pence (a corruption of pence) from penthouse was current and approved amongst the people of Chester as early as the time of Charles the First.¶

The case of *gablum* is precisely similar. But, in this instance, it is "as early as the time of" Henry the Third that we find "the erroneous derivation" of *gablum* from 'gable' "current and approved amongst

\* 8th Report, App. I., p. 362b. Compare "The Antiquity of the Gabelle Rent" [at Chester], App. to 5th Report Hist. MSS., p. 340.

† 8th Report Hist. MSS., App. I., p. 358b. By "pleonasm" I allude to the addition of "rent" to "gable" (*gafol*), while that term itself meant "rent," but when its meaning was evidently forgotten. A similar pleonasm is to be found in the addition of "island" to names ending in "ea" or "ey," as in the case of "Mersea Island" at the mouth of the Colne. I doubt if it is realized that this process is even now going on. Thus the "Pye-fleet," the creek (or "fleet") which separates Mersea from the mainland, is gradually becoming known as the "Pye-fleet creek."

‡ "Qui ad terminum quod debebat gablum non reddebat, X solidis emendabat" (I., 262b). See also, for traces of the *gablum* in much later days, Mr. Jeaffreson's Report on the Barnstaple Muniments (9th Report, App. I., p. 224a):—"Free Gable."

§ *Athenæum*, Aug. 16th, 1884.

¶ 8th Report Hist. MSS., App. I., p. 369b.

the people of" Leicester. We must remember, however, that their verdict is recorded in Latin only, and that, therefore, they do not speak of a house's "gable," but only of its "gablum." Nor do they venture to alter the English name of the payment, as Mr. Jeaffreson implies (*vide supra*), from "govel-peniis" (*gafol-pennies*) to "gable-pence." The result is, of itself, fatal to the pretended "gable" derivation. For though "govel" is an easy corruption from "gafol" or "gavel," it cannot be a corruption from "gable." Hence, such a form is at once conclusive. It appears to me that we may safely accept the derivation of the *gablum* from "gable" as a genuine piece of "volks-etymologie," even while rejecting the jurors' story as a transparent and deliberate fabrication. For the derivation is quite independent of the story, and indeed, so far from suggesting it, affords the means of disproving it.

Had I space, I would gladly dwell on this "Volks-Etymologie" and its pranks. For its fruits are to be found on every side. Perhaps one might roughly divide them into three progressive classes. There is first the case in which the original word suggests an erroneous derivation; secondly, the case in which a corruption of the original word suggests it; thirdly, the case in which that erroneous derivation further suggests a mythical story. This last is, of course, the most interesting of all, as bearing on the famous point at issue between anthropologists and philologists, namely, whether the origin of myths is to be sought in a disease of language, or a malady of thought. But on this subject I must refer my readers to Mr. Grant Allen's suggestive essays, contenting myself with adding two striking instances: the one that of "Queen Elizabeth at Helmingham," a myth culled from Burke's *Peerage*, that temple of genealogical imposture, and so brilliantly analysed and exposed by Mr. Vincent in a recent issue of the *Genealogist*; the other, taken from the town (Colchester) in which I write these lines, where, by a popular corruption, St. Helen degenerated into "Tenant" (as St. Osyth, in this neighbourhood, into "Toosey"), and thus led the learned Newcourt to criticise his predecessor for only mentioning St. Helen's chapel, and omitting that

of St. Tenant,\* a saint that must have puzzled the hagiologists who may happen to have pored over his pages.

But to return. The real importance of the identification of these "govel-peniis" with *gafol*, instead of the *gable* of a house, is that it renders absolutely certain the falsehood of the story told in this verdict, for by throwing back the origin of the payment into early Anglo-Saxon days, and connecting it with the *gafol* of other towns, it effectually disposes of the absurd story that it originated in an imposition by a feudal lord, in the days of Henry I. The statement that "taliter prius levati erant denarii qui vocantur govelpeniis" is at once blown to the winds, and with it, of course, Mr. Jeaffreson's "notable" trial of battle, his vision of the "gabled houses," and the rest of his luckless paraphernalia!

At this point I pause to inquire whether the jurors were merely deposing to what they believed to be the truth, or whether this verdict was deliberately concocted to serve a certain purpose. It would be in my power to show that in similar inquests, at other times and in other places, there is traceable an unscrupulous purpose to overreach the feudal lord. Here, again, an inquiry would lead to results of so much interest and importance, that I shall hope to pursue it on some future occasion. For the present I need only explain that such inquests were a customary preliminary to a charter, and that, in this case, the object to be obtained by the burgesses was a favourable commutation of the two payments which formed the subject of the inquests. Now, the lord having an indisputable right to exact them, and consequently to claim a full equivalent, the only chance of obtaining a favourable commutation lay in appealing to his sense of equity, by representing the payments as having originated in tyranny, and been, subsequently, aggravated by fraud. And this is what the jurors did. Had they admitted the true origin of the "govel-pennies" in an immemorial Saxon payment, they would have had no ground for an appeal. But by representing them as the blood-money which their forefathers had offered, "moti pietate," for exemption from the tyrannous *duellum*, they established a starting-point for their plea.

\* *Repertorium*, II., 162.

The next point was to establish a subsequent aggravation by fraud. This they accomplished by asserting a remission of the payment at the hands of the son of the first recipient for the salvation of his father's soul (a clever hint enough), and the loss of his charter to that effect in Mr. Jeaffreson's "lawless outbreak," followed by a re-exaction of the "pennies" at the hands of an unscrupulous bailiff, on whom they bestow the appropriate name of "Hugh the Accursed" (*Hugo Mauditt*)—"et taliter sunt soluti usque in hodiernum diem." On this second plea I may note that the loss of a pretended charter was a frequent feature in these stories.

In the light of this Inquest on the *gabium* we can expose that which followed it on the *pontagium*. Here, again, the unquestionable origin of the due ("bridge-silver") was a payment for the keeping-up of bridges, as *muragium* was a payment for the keeping-up of walls, and *pavagium* for that of pavement. But notorious as this fact is to us, it would have been fatal for them to admit it. So they sought for it an origin in a pretended payment imposed upon their forefathers for permitting them to perform a public service! And then they invoked a certain "Penkrich" to play the part of "Hugo Mauditt," and aggravate this payment by fraud. It need hardly be said that this absurd story, to which the name *pontagium* is of itself fatal, is at variance with the terms of the charters granted by the early lords. According, however, to Mr. Cordy Jeaffreson, it "restores to the familiar term 'pontagium' a particular signification that has been lost for several centuries."\* Is it not Mr. Jeaffreson's crowning "discovery" that this "familiar term" should have "lost"—a meaning which it never possessed?

From the silence of the charter that followed upon these inquests, it would appear that the story which the ingenious jurors had so skilfully "invested with artistic merit," failed to impose on their feudal lord, who, by the way, was no other than the great Simon de Montfort himself. It was only our latter-day historian who could be hoodwinked by such a tale as theirs, who could rush, with enthusiastic clamour, into "the pit prepared for him of old."

\* *8th Report Hist. MSS.*, App. I., p. 407a.

## Battle of Brunanbyrig.

BY E. M. E. WELBY.



HERE is a famous battle, the date of which is A.D. 937, for which the following names are to be found:—

Brunanbyrig, Brunanbyri, Brunnanbyrig, Brunan-burh, Brunanburg, Brumanburgh, Brunanburgh, Bruneburh, Bruneshurh, Brunnanburge, Brunanburch, Brunandune, Brunnanwerch, Brunnanwerch, Brune-ford, Brunford, Brunefeld, Dun-brunde, Wendune, Weondune, Weardune, Vinheidi, or Vinuskoda.

There has been much discussion as to the site of this, *e.g.*, see Pearson's *Hist. Maps of Eng.*, edit. 1870, p. 38:—

3. Brunan-burh. Professor Stubbs has kindly favoured me with the following observations on the site of Brunan-beorh.

And Green's *Conquest of England*, edit. 1883, p. 254, note.

The sum of these discussions seems to be that the site is still undetermined. Under these circumstances, I venture a suggestion. First a few words as to the events before and after the battle.

A.D. 925. Athelstan became king.

A.D. 925. He and Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, came together, and Athelstan gave him his sister.

A.D. 926. Sihtric perished, and Athelstan obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians.

A.D. 933. This year King Athelstan went into Scotland, as well with a land army as with a fleet, and ravaged a great part of it.

A.D. 937. Anlaf, the Pagan king of the Irish, and of many islands besides, at the instigation of his father-in-law, Constantine, king of the Scots, entered the mouth of the river Humber with a powerful fleet. (See *Simeon of Durham* and *Florence of Worcester*.)

He arrived with a fleet of 615 ships, supported by the auxiliaries of the kings of the Scots and Cumbrians. (*Simeon of Durham*.)

Now if we consult the usually despised Ingulph's *History of Croyland*, we shall find a double reference to this battle, it being mentioned in reference to King Athelstan himself, and again in reference to Turketul, his chancellor, who was at the battle with many followers, and in after years joined the monks of Croyland and became their abbot, many of his old followers joining the brotherhood, also, and probably telling old stories of their earlier lives.

According to these accounts, after Athelstan had collected his forces and led them into North-humberland, and before he had fought the battle, this incident happened:—He met several pilgrims from Beverley going to their own homes, and being certified by them of the miracles of St. John, himself visited the said saint, offered his dagger on the altar, and promised that if God gave him victory, he would, on his return, redeem the dagger at a fitting price; a promise which he afterwards fulfilled.

Ailred of Rievaul, cap. 357, also represents Athelstan as going through Lincolnshire, and visiting Beverley before he fights.

Returning to Ingulph. We then have a story of the night preceding the fight, and of the battle itself, as if from the narrative of one who was there, making a not unnatural mistake between the King of the Scots and his son.

As to the battle itself, we gather from the various scraps about it left on record, that

the battle lasted from daybreak until evening, and the king and his brother returned home in great triumph, having driven the kings Anlaf and Constantine back to their ships. (*Florence of Worcester* and *Simeon of Durham*.)

It chanced that King Athelstan, who led all the West Saxons, was opposed to the troops of Anlaf's band, and his chancellor Turketul, at the head of the Londoners and all the Mercians, met Constantine's band.

Then these extracts from the poem on the battle, given in the Anglo-Sax. Chron. (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* edit.), tell us that here they—

Life long glory, | in battle won | Near Brunan-  
burh | The board wall they clove | they hewed the  
war lindens | the foe they crushed | the Scottish  
people | and the ship-men | fated fell | West Saxons  
pursued | Mercians refused not | the hard hand play |  
to any heroes | who with Anlaf | over the ocean | in  
the ship's bosom | this land sought | Five lay | on the  
battle stead | youthful kings | so seven eke | of Anlaf's  
eorls | of the army countless | shipmen and Scots |  
there was made flee | the northmen's chieftain | to the  
ship's prow | with a little band | the bark drove  
afloat | the king departed | On the fallow flood | his  
life preserved. | The Northmen parted | in their nailed  
barks | O'er the deep water | Dublin to seek | again  
Ireland | shamed in mind. |

From the above I gather that Athelstan's route went northward, above the Humber, and possibly his forces, and perhaps ships, headed the foe back from the mouth of the



Ouse; also, that he not only entered North-humbria, but in leading his forces to Brunan-byrig called at Beverley; that the fight took place close to the sea, and the ships of those with whom he fought; and that Beverley again lay on his road away from the place, homewards and southwards, which circumstances combined with the name Brunan-byrig lead me to identify the place with the well-known Flamborough—for it seems to me to fit in both as to locality and as to name. In respect to the name, *Murray's Handbook to Yorkshire* (edit. 1874), p. 196, is suggestive, where it says: "The present name Flamborough perhaps indicates that a great beacon was anciently lighted here, within the burgh formed by the Danes Dyke to guide passing vessels." And as nothing is more likely than that in Roman times, at least, the spot may have become as well known from having a light on it (at least in quiet times) for passing vessels, within some sort of a fortification, as it is now for a light-house, we may easily think it got looked on as the flaming or burning dune, and the flaming or burning byrig, and so got its names.

I should perhaps say that William of Malmesbury appears to make the invading force come far inland, unless he merely means that the Scots came a good way from home; but I think all the others point to, or are not inconsistent with, the sea coast.



## Myrrh and Incense.

BY EDMUND S. PURCELL.

**M**YRRH and incense are accounted among the most ancient of the sweet-smelling spices of the world, yet it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that more was known, at least, concerning myrrh, its genuine qualities, and the native home of the tree which produces it, in the days of Solomon than in our own enlightened days, when everything in the heavens or under the sun, from the mountains in the moon to the ant-hills on the earth, is supposed to have given up its secret or its source to the voracious eye and ear of science. Myrrh

and incense, together with rare and medicinal herbs, were brought by the Phoenicians from Arabia, and were accounted by them as native products of "Araby the Blest." In his biography of Alexander the Great, Plutarch relates the following characteristic anecdote of the conqueror of the world. Alexander, who was magnanimous in all things, great or small, in offering up a sacrifice made a too prodigal use of myrrh and incense, and in consequence was reproved by his tutor, Leonidas, in the following terms, characteristic, I am afraid, of the schoolmaster's narrow mind in other ages than that of Alexander: "If you be ever possessed of the land where incense and myrrh grow, you may then squander at will these costly perfumes." On Alexander's conquest of India, together with the booty of Gaza, which he despatched to Macedonia, he sent to his old tutor, Leonidas, among others, five hundred talents of incense and a hundred talents of myrrh, recalling the incident of his youth in the following letter: "We send you sufficient incense and myrrh as to enable you to cease being niggardly towards the gods."

The Phoenicians, who for the sake of traffic followed the army, found in the desert of Gedvos, where, according to Aristobol, myrrh-trees grow in rich luxuriance, the produce of the still virgin trees to be so abundant as to induce them to halt in order to load a long train of their beasts of burden with this costly booty. Again, the generals of Vespasian are said to have brought with them balsam-trees from India in their triumphal march home. On another occasion, in celebrating his triumph over Mithridates, in the year 74 B.C., Lucullus, too, entered Rome bearing beside him on his triumphal car a cherry tree with ripe cherries on its boughs. Adrian, too, had Arabian balsam-trees transplanted to his gardens at Tivoli; and Columella relates that in these gardens were to be found, among many other rare exotics, the incense plant, blooming myrrhs, and cassias.

We find it everywhere mentioned, either expressly or incidentally, that myrrh and incense were the chief products of ancient Arabia. Their use in religious ceremonies existed among the Jews and the various peoples of the East as well as of the West from the earliest times. Even Herodotus

boasts of Arabia as the home of incense and of myrrh. Whence incense really came in those times has only become known in our day. In an ancient Egyptian papyrus, recently discovered, was found an ordinance, dating from the year 1100 B.C., concerning the cultivation of incense and myrrh in the land of Avras, in east Africa. All sorts of strange stories about the dangers attending the reaping and gathering of these choice products were industriously set afloat by the wily Arabs, in order to deter strangers from searching after spices so costly and affording such a lucrative traffic. Myrrh was also produced in Yemens from a tree, whose botanical name is *Balsamodendron Myrrha*. This myrrh is mentioned in a recipe of the time of Charlemagne, as being made up in a powder, and reputed to be an effective remedy against every kind of disease. Its curative power ought to be potent, since it was composed of no fewer than forty-seven different herbs and of eight essential oils or juices. In another recipe myrrh and incense are also named as used in an outward application to the head.

What we in our day know of myrrh is that this tree flourishes in the regions between Tadschourra and Shoa on the west coast of the Red Sea, and also in the East Indies. A second kind, of inferior growth, is to be found in tropical America. The myrrh of Arabia, known as far back as the time of Alexander, is the hardened juice or gum of the balsam-tree. By an incision in the bark of these trees the sap exudes in oily yellow drops, which by exposure to the air gradually become darker, thicker, and less fluid, and finally quite hard.

The missionary, Cornwallis Harris, who visited the districts I have mentioned in the year 1841, found the myrrh-tree between Karamelly and Nagaksomi, about 320 kilometres from Tadschourra on the road to Aukober, the capital of Shoa. In an appendix to his book of travels Harris designates the desert of Aden, the banks of the river Hawasch, and the river Esat, as the places where these myrrh-trees are to be found in greater abundance.

There are, then, four different regions which may be designated as the native home of the myrrh-tree: (1) Ghizan, on the shores of the Red Sea; (2) the south coast of Arabia

to the east of Aden; (3) the coasts of Somali to the south and west of the cape of Gardafui; and (4) the country between Tadschourra and Shoa, inclusive of the city of Havrar in the south-west. In commerce three kinds of myrrh are known, corresponding apparently in their botanical character to three different kinds of trees.

Though the gum which is called myrrh was, as I have already pointed out, known in the earliest times, and has always taken its place as a rare and valuable article of merchandise, yet its geographical as well as its botanical origin is still enveloped in a certain kind of mystery, as if it were one of those things whose origin was lost in dim antiquity. For some maintain that to this day we do not know for certain whether myrrh comes from one, or several different kinds of trees. The celebrated German naturalist, Professor Ehrenberg, visited in the years from 1820 to 1826 the shores of the Red Sea and the lands which surround it, as well as the regions of Ghizan on the coasts of Arabia opposite to the Farsan group of islands, situate about 450 kilometres from the Gulf of Bab-el-Mandeb. It was in these districts that he found myrrh-trees, which formed a wood similar to acacia forests; he collected various specimens of fine gum as well as branches of the different trees. These specimens, placed in his herbary, were carefully examined by the well-known German botanist, Nees von Eisenbeck, and the tree was christened by him with the scientific name of *Balsamodendron Myrrha*. The question of the origin of the myrrh-tree seemed now at last to be solved; nevertheless, some years later, when the specimens of Professor Ehrenberg were placed in the herbaries of the Royal Museum at Berlin, and the specimens of the branches of the myrrh-tree of Arabia collected by Dr. Otto Berg were compared with those brought by Ehrenberg, it was discovered that these branches belonged to quite different kinds of trees.

A surgeon of the German navy, who in the year 1852 visited Aden, brought home with him a small quantity of myrrh from South Arabia. But this Arabian myrrh was far from possessing all those noble qualities which belong to genuine myrrh; therefore it may be assumed with certainty that it is

derived from a tree of inferior quality. This myrrh-tree of Arabia was wholly unknown to botanists. The surgeon, moreover, reported that this myrrh, whose Indian name is Hesabol, better known to the Arabs under the Arabian name Mur, was collected in great quantities at Hurrur by the tribes of Somali for the purpose of exportation. The country inhabited by these tribes extends between the Cape of Gardafui and Zeila on the southern coast of the Gulf of Aden; Hurrur itself is a commercial city about 280 kilomètres to the south-west of Zeila. The provisions which were exported for the great markets or fairs which are held in Barbary during the months of November, December, and January, were bought by the Indian Banians, in order to convey them to their destination in Bombay.

The traveller Cruttenden, who in 1843 visited the coasts of the Somali land, maintained that the genuine myrrh comes from the valley of Wadi Nogal, which has its rise in the Indian Ocean, and to the south stretches to Cape Gardafui, as well as from the districts which surround Ogahden, Murreyhan, and Agahore; he likewise showed that genuine myrrh was found in the mountains behind Murrafah, a city thirty-five kilomètres from Basfelouk, on the coast of Somali; and from thence it is brought to Bunder Murrafah for exportation. But whether the myrrh collected in the Somali districts is genuine or spurious, whether it is that which the Arabians call Hesabol, and which is commonly used in India and China, are questions which have not as yet been satisfactorily or accurately answered. It is curious how a product, which from the earliest times has formed an important article of commerce, is still enveloped in no little obscurity as to its origin and nature. What we know specifically about it is, that myrrh consisting of a mixture of resin, essential oil, gum, salt, and water, has a most aromatic perfume. In medicine myrrh is chiefly used as a remedy for diseases of the mouth and for the teeth. In earlier times it was applied as a precious anointing oil at the bath, and was used for embalming the dead—which, however, is now no longer the case.

Incense, which has often been confounded

with myrrh, and is sometimes even now regarded as identical, claims an independent existence; for myrrh and incense are the products of two different trees—the balsam-tree, and the tree whose botanical name is *Boswellia serrata*. The finest incense known comes from this tree only, which grows in the mountains of Ghat in India; the resin collected from its bark is now held to be the genuine incense of the ancients. In the London market there are two kinds of incense; the one comes from Arabia, is very rare, and its origin doubtful, and was named by the Hebrews and Greeks Lebonah, and by the Romans Thus; the other kind comes from India, and is the product of the *Boswellia serrata*.

Incense, like myrrh, is obtained by an incision in the bark, or by spontaneous exuding. It is offered to the trade in lumps of a pale yellow colour, of irregular size, and has a sharp aromatic perfume. In earlier times it was sometimes used as an external medical application, but its chief use was as a smoke-offering at the sacrificial altars and in the temples. As such it was known, as I have already mentioned, by the Jews and the Greeks, who obtained it from Arabia, hence the appellation Arabian Incense. Incense of a commoner kind is obtained from the resin of pine-trees found in ant-hills, and which, by the acid of the ants, has undergone a chemical change.

Russian incense, so called because it is used much oftener in Russian churches than the genuine incense, is obtained from the exuding resin of the *Pinus Laricio*, common in Russia. One of the reasons, perhaps, of the use of cheaper and commoner incense in Russia is that incense is used at every religious service in the Russian churches.

It is curious to note, as showing the common use of incense among the Jewish people, that the shekel, but particularly the coins struck by Simon Maccabeus, present, on the obverse side, the figure of a smoking thurible.

The Primitive Christians followed the example of the Jews in the use of incense at the celebration of the Liturgy. By the third of the Apostolic canons it is enacted that amongst the very few things which might be offered at the altar, whilst the eucharistic sacrifice was being celebrated, were oil for the

lights, and incense. That the use of incense was coeval with the Apostolic age appears from a remark of St. Hippolytus Portuensis in his book on the consummation of the world.

In the fourth century, St. Ephraem, a Father of the Syriac Church, directed in his will that no aromatic perfumes should be bestowed upon him at his funeral, but the spices should rather be given to the sanctuary, the aromatics offered to the Almighty, and the incense burned in the House of God. The most ancient of the three Greek Liturgies, that of St. James, commences with the burning of incense, which the celebrant puts into the censer after he has approached to the altar. He then incenses the eucharistic bread, the chalice and the altar, as well as the assistant priests.\* Amongst the munificent donations of Constantine the Great to the churches of Rome were two censers of pure gold, presented to the Lateran Basilica, and one to the baptistery of the same church. With his wonted accuracy Anastasius gives their exact weight:—

Thimiamateria duo en auro purissimo pens. libras triginta . . . Thimiamaterium aureum cum gemmis prasinis et hyacinthinis xlii. pens. libras decem.

The use of incense during the eucharistic celebration amongst the Anglo-Saxons is recorded by Alcuin in the following lines:—

Hic quoque Thuribulum capitellis undique cinctum,  
Pendit de summo fumosa foramina pandens;  
De quibus ambrosia spirabunt thura Sabæa,  
Quando sacerdotes missas offerre jubentur.



## Venice Before the Stones.

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.

### PART II.

**T**HE greater part of the future capital was a marshy and sterile waste, broken by sheets of brackish water (*lagi* and *piscine*), of which many were subsequently converted into fish-ponds for monastic and abbatial institutions; while the larger proportion were gradually filled up and levelled; and the general surface

\* Renaudotii, *Liturgiar. Orient. Collectio*, tom. i., p. 200.

must in many places have been incapable of sustaining any considerable pressure of brickwork and masonry. It seems from the archives, more especially from a decree of 1303, that before the Lidi or Tombe, which compose the city, were covered with buildings, a great deal had been accomplished in the way of deepening the channels, and utilising the material to fill up some of the smaller water-courses, or to prepare the foundations of the Lidi for their lifelong burthen. The general process of embankment, the stone facings and other artificial expedients, which have been employed to beautify Venice, and at the same time to guard her at all points from the action of the sea, obliterate the archaic lines of the shore, and make it nearly impossible to judge what the mediæval levels were; but repeated entries in the proceedings of the Great Council, particularly in 1303 and 1305, prove that the Government spared no trouble in securing a firm bottom everywhere, and that a considerable part of the capital and the adjacent islands rests on made ground of a date much posterior to the natural uprise of the lagoons; and this may be taken to be the true interpretation of the term *fundamentum* or *fondamento*, which we find so frequently applied in documents to established routes as well as to prepared sites for building, and which survives in the modern nomenclature. In was only in the middle of the thirteenth century, as Temanza clearly shows, that the eastern part of the Giudecca (Giudecca or Zecca Nuova) was rendered fit for settlement, to some extent, by the deportation of immense quantities of soil in 1339 from the Puncta Luporum; and certainly the earthquake of 1221 proved more destructive to the monastery of San Giorgio than to the metropolis exactly opposite. The Government was very energetic here from 1252 to 1340, and carried out its object by concessions to individuals on terms which were regarded as acceptable, but which, inclusively of the construction of any new bridges, involved no charge on the general community.

In 1334, between the old Arsenal and Santa Anna, on the Rio di Castello, an enlightened and philanthropic surgeon named Gualtieri obtained a concession from the



Government for an hospital, which has long ceased to exist, but may be seen in the Temanza chart, with a Sailors' Infirmary attached to it; and it is interesting to hear that the grant comprised the necessary ground for what we should call a Physic Garden for the founder's professional purposes. This was probably the first of its kind in Europe, and preceded that established at Oxford by more than three centuries.

It was almost certainly after 1241 that, the Glass Works having been formally suppressed at Venice itself, and Murano having been selected as the future seat of the industry, the necessary measures were taken, before any buildings were erected, to rectify levels and consolidate the foundations, doubtless, as elsewhere, at the cost of the professors of the Art.

Till 1332, there was no dwelling of any kind on the eyot of St. Christopher, between Luprio and Zimole; in that year a windmill was erected by Bartolomeo Verde on the site, when the foundations had been rendered sufficiently firm; but the speculation proved a failure, and was converted into a Magdalen. This was the precursor, however, of other experiments, which had a happier fortune, and the island was considerably amplified by excavations from the canals, which, whatever the inconvenience and cost might be, proved a perfect cornucopia for the first race of Venetian builders, as it is yet doing for their successors.

It is curious enough that in the accounts of these laborious operations, which must have extended at intervals over centuries, we meet with the term *scavare a mano*. The labourers, like the navvies who helped to make St. Petersburg, and like the modern Egyptian fellah, scooped out the canals with their hands. They had no suitable implements, or their employers, to whom they stood in a servile relationship, were indisposed to furnish them with any.

The true foundations of Venice were laid by men who ate and slept like the beasts of the field, and whose wages were their daily bread and the grace of life. The free work we see; but the other lies beneath us, wherever we move: a gigantic task of preparation by such as knew not for what they were making ready, nor cared.

We find, on excellent authority, that in the seventh century, when Venice was advancing toward the completion of her second centenary, the water nearest to the *terra firma* was sufficiently shallow to allow horsemen to cross over to Luprio and other contiguous points; and the accumulation of river-drift was necessarily increasing. The government engineer Zendrini, in his elaborate monograph on the Lagoon, affords an insight into the vast labour and outlay which the Republic bestowed on the canals; but apart from the inherent tendency of the riverways to become choked and unnavigable, there is a very serious possibility to be received into calculation. For it was the opinion of Zendrini, as well as that of his pupil Temanza, that even in the sixteenth century the sea was showing a tendency to gain at Venice, and that such continued to be the case in the eighteenth. So long as a vigorous system of dredging was observed, and steps were taken at intervals to deepen the channels, this encroachment was not so grave a source of peril as now, when the languid action of a municipality is substituted for the old strong hand, and the hot restless pulse beats no longer; yet Temanza testifies to the damage which occurred in his day (1720-80) from the periodical visits of high spring floods.

Till the irruption of the Franks in 809, the great centre of action and movement lay at Heraclia or Malamocco. Of what eventually grew into the Venice of the Crusades, of the deadly Chioggian struggle, of Titian, of ourselves, the men of whom and of whose time this page treats knew positively nought. The timber residence of the Doges, embracing within its compass all the varied requirements and accessories of the old Palace Life, the whole machinery of the Government, political, judicial, and financial, was pitched on a far more exposed and far less happy site; and around its walls lay dispersed the sleeping cabins of the labouring population, who then, as now, chiefly used their dwellings as dormitories or stores, and conducted the business of life *sub dio*: the not very ambitious mansion-houses of the wealthier, and sundry places of worship, as we see them dotted about on the plan of Temanza.

But of Heraclia, the first metropolis to which we are introduced, and the seat of the earliest Doges, we remain without tangible information, unless one classes as such the miserable story of discord and bloodshed which was the almost unvarying characteristic of its flourishing era; it had lost its importance in 742, when the ducal residence was removed to Malamocco; and the sole surviving vestige of any definite architectural theory or scheme at the latter, while it still retained its political rank, is the casual allusion to the Strada of San Martino there in the ninth century. In was in this street, perchance in front of his ancestral abode, that the ex-Doge Obelerio was beheaded about 830, and the place was also the theatre of the periodical silk fair, even when Malamocco had long parted with its original consequence. The annihilation of this antique township and second capital of the Republic, after the fall of the Obelerio family in the ninth century, was so utter, that even its position is not with certainty known, though Temanza was of opinion that Old Malamocco lay a little beyond the island of Santa Maria in Nazareth.

While the present narrative does not pretend to record the sequence of political events, an exception must be permitted in favour of the circumstances which led immediately to the establishment of the capital of the Republic on its ultimate site.

It was a rupture between the eastern and western emperors, occasioned by an attempt on the part of the former to acquire possession of Commacchio, which is to be regarded as the proximate cause of what appeared to the Venetians a terrible calamity at the moment, and when they could look back upon it, something very like an immense and enduring gain. They had furtively helped the Greeks to hold Commacchio; but Charlemagne, either not fully aware of this, or desiring to put the policy of the little Republic to a practical test, now asked her succour in an expedition which his son Pepin was instructed to make into Dalmatia. Venice refused the demand; and Pepin, perhaps not displeased at the pretext, resolved to turn the forces which he had at least ostensibly levied for service elsewhere, against the recalcitrant people in the lagoons. It is commonly asserted that he commanded the enterprise in person, but this

statement is as unlikely as that the armament itself was of formidable proportions.

The very existence of the country, nevertheless, appeared to be at stake; the national convention was summoned to assemble at Malamocco; all factious differences were set aside. The people, in their passionate excitement, and with a crisis before their very eyes, did not pause to discriminate between partizans; and a provisional government was constituted under Angelo Badoer, one of the tribunes of Rialto (A.D. 809).

No contrivances were omitted which might help to impede and harass the enemy. Chains were thrown athwart the canals; hulks were sunk at their mouths; the rows of piles which indicated the navigable passages were, as far as possible, removed; and so soon as it was understood that the Franks were already approaching Brondolo, its population withdrew at the dictator's call into the central group of islands, which formed his tribunitary province, and which is the modern Venice.

It is better to confess that a collation of the writers with maps of mediæval date leaves it extremely doubtful by which route the enemy penetrated into the heart of Venice. But as they are said to have passed Pelestrina, Albiola, and Malamocco, all of which they found deserted, it is likely enough that they entered by the *Portus Rivoalti*, which was then an open water-way. The Venetian leaders had not had time probably to sink hulks or piles here, but the Franks, on their side, had not taken into account the long distance to be traversed, before they reached the point whither the islanders had sagaciously retreated; and their progress was presently arrested by a natural, yet unforeseen, difficulty. The receding water was becoming at length too shallow to admit the somewhat heavy draught of the vessels which brought the troops from Ravenna, or to allow their retreat; the unfortunate project was hereupon seemingly adopted of disembarking before the flotilla was stranded by the ebb, and it was only then that the invaders discovered that their access to Rialto was barred by a canal which emptied itself just below Rialto into the lagoon. It was at this point that the Venetians stood at bay, some in their shallow skiffs ready to act at any moment, some on the Rialto shore of the

canal, prepared to resist any further advance to the last man. The situation of the Franks was growing desperate. They were exposed to a destructive fire of stones and arrows both from the water and the shore; their vessels were tide-bound; and many of these the Venetians succeeded in reaching with lighted tow. There seemed to be no alternative but to throw a temporary bridge over the canal, and take the position by storm.

This clumsy structure, which was hastily composed of casks, planks, and the inter-twisted boughs of vines and olives, was soon completed; and the enemy, full of confidence and enthusiasm, rushed blindly forward to their intended prey. But the rude and incongruous fabric promptly yielded to the pressure; the greater part of the assailants were drowned or suffocated in the ooze; and the remainder were soon overtaken and slaughtered by the alert and experienced islanders, who could easily, amid the prevailing confusion, take them both in front and rear.

The numerical magnitude of the attacking force has been, no doubt, like most matters of the kind, over-estimated. But under any circumstances the event in its noble result was an astonishing output of strength, an impressive manifestation of national life, a stout and manful repulse to the ambitious stranger and spoiled child of fortune, who sought to wrest from Venice the ripening harvest of centuries of toil and the coveted queendom of the sea. Pepin sent his soldiers to enforce the application which he had made in vain from a distance, and was met by a second denial more emphatic than the former.

A comprehension of this remarkable affair might be assisted by a converseance with the topography of the vital hand-to-hand struggle. It seems evident from the common language of history that the enemy advanced beyond Albiola, and penetrated into the inner lagoon in search of their opponents, who had advisedly retired on Venice. The supposition that the conflict occurred at Albiola, or, as Temanza appears to have thought, in the vicinity of Poveja, is not supported on geographical grounds, as in either case it would of necessity be implied that the Venetians advanced a long distance, and into deeper water, to meet the aggressors; whereas we

know, and it is indeed obvious, that their cardinal object was to draw the latter into the shallows, and that with this motive they concentrated themselves on Rialto. It seems, then, as if it was in the neighbourhood of Rialto that we should seek the spot where the conflict occurred.

It is true enough that the Canal Arco has been named, in the first place, as the battlefield, and secondly, as identical with the modern Canal Orfano. Blondus of Forlì, a writer of the fifteenth century, affirms that the name Orfano was substituted to commemorate the mortality on this very occasion; but of that there is no convincing proof, while the locality itself does not apparently answer very well to the conditions of the encounter, so far as they are known. On the other hand, the Canal Arco, judging from analogy, owed its designation to the character of its course; it was bow-wise.

Standing on the Ponte della Paglia, which did not then exist, and looking toward the Riva degli Schiavoni, I have speculated whether this was not the scene, whether the Rio di Palazzo, undoubtedly broader in its unenclosed state prior to the reception of a frontage of stonework, and very possibly deepened on the emergency by the defenders, was not the Canal Arco. For, as to the inapplicability of the name, it should be recollected that the most extensive changes were made in the Middle Ages in the lesser waterways of the city, and that the Canal Arco of 809 may very well have altered its aspect without relinquishing its name, as the Fleet in London dwindled from a navigable river first into a brook, and finally into a ditch. We have to keep before us the two accepted facts, that the Venetians fell back on Rialto or Venice, and that the theatre of operations was upon the banks of a canal sufficiently narrow to inspire the Franks with the idea of bridging it with casual appliances; and this contracts very much the range of inquiry. The Canal Arco was of such a span as to allow the construction across it of a rough temporary causeway by very unskilful hands for the purpose of a simultaneous assault. That it was positively the present Rio di Palazzo is a mere theory, only warrantable, perhaps, by the interest attendant on the precise ground where a momentous issue was

decided eleven centuries ago; but that it was the Canal Orfano does not strike me as moderately probable.

The selection of Rialto as the capital was dictated purely by a persuasion of its exceptional security, for otherwise, as Temanza suggested long ago, there were respects in which Torcello might have been preferable.

There was, in fact, no City or even Town, strictly speaking, anywhere, till the transfer of the seat of administration to Rialto, in consequence of the Frankish invasion. From the ninth century (814) may be reckoned the first serious attempt at centralization and unifying order: the rise of a new palace, the choice of a new patron saint, the development of thoroughfares converging from the various churches or from the ducal home, the binding together of Venice and its environs by tentative bridges, the supply of a police, ancestors of the Sbirri, and the relief of the leading *contrade* after nightfall from utter darkness by the agency of dingy oil lamps. It was about now, one apprehends, that an effort was made to lay out a city on what appeared to be a convenient model. There are contemporaneous documentary vouchers for such thoroughfares as the Calle delle Rasse, the Calle dei Fabri, the Merceria, the Riva dei Schiavoni, the *contrada* of SS. Filippo e Giacomo, the Ruga degli Orefici, and the Ruga *domorum de Sergentibus*, the last not far from the courts of law, and the seat of the sponging-houses.

But the pace at which this development proceeded was slow, and the improvement sectional. Fifty years after the victory over the Franks, we see the Government granting concessions to persons who were desirous of bringing under cultivation the marshes in Rialto, and of building houses in the direction of Castello.

The ground-landlords or lessees of residences were invariably anxious to secure for their tenants or themselves, as an indispensable feature in the property, a free access to the nearest water or *comenzaria*, a right of entrance and outlet to the landing stairs or stage, where the occupier might moor his boat, and have facilities for transacting business, and procuring supplies of provisions for his household. The topography of Venice ruled its laws, and the regulations concerning riparian

easements, the use of fish-ponds, and cognate matters, are infinitely numerous and minute.

Every establishment of any sort of pretension was provided with a well and an oven—the two great essentials among all mediæval communities. We are all aware of the stress laid on the possession of a well in the Old Testament, and of the principle on which it was regulated. In the second book of Samuel, the well of Bethlehem is represented as by the gate of the city. But this, like our own parochial wells, was for public use. At Venice, on the contrary, if a well was sunk, it belonged to the person who owned the property and his tenants or clients. One or two of the shocks of earthquake, which so often visited the Republic down to the end of the thirteenth century, inflicted serious damage on these valuable contributions to comfort and health; and until the Brenta was brought into service, the supply of fresh water was always in danger of interruption or deterioration by natural agencies. Temanza proposed to himself a dissertation on this subject, but it does not seem that the idea was carried into execution.

During the middle ages, or even later, there were many blind courts, leading to private residences, and closed against general traffic; and it sprang originally out of the cliental system, that these alleys or avenues were occupied by the dependents of the master of the casa or palazzo, who thus often lived in a manner surrounded and protected by his clan. The introduction by degrees of a municipal government tended to modify such an archaic and inconvenient state of society, and the noble, when his feudal environment was withdrawn from him by legislative changes, was glad to answer a gradual demand by converting his old-fashioned tenements into handsome shops, and to take high rents in lieu of the barren homage of his forefathers' tenantry.

(To be continued.)





## Reviews.

*Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America.* By EDWARD CHANNING, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Harvard College.



HIS study, the Toppan Prize Essay, is the latest addition to *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*. Dr. Channing, whose name is already familiar to historical students in the United States, here sets himself to reconcile and trace to a common origin the "town" and "county" forms of government in the English colonies of North America.

Taking as his types the two colonies of Massachusetts and Virginia, the writer deduces the divergent forms which their respective governments assumed from (1) their different economic conditions, (2) their traditions of local government in the mother country, (3) their special ecclesiastical and land systems. The first of these influences is skilfully brought out, and the third clearly explained, it being shown that while in the northern colony land was granted to "bodies," in the southern it was granted to "individuals." But the second influence, to which Dr. Channing attributes the resemblance, as against the difference, between the respective forms, is of more direct interest to English readers.

Starting from the *parish* as the "prototype" of both the "town" and "county" developments, Dr. Channing endeavours to assign to "parish" its accepted meaning in 1600. He treats it as "a division of the county," in one aspect a "town," in another a "parish," its local affairs determined in "parish meeting" by the parishioners. He then traces from this common origin the Massachusetts "town" and the Virginian "parish" and "county." He brings out the importance of the Virginian "vestry," and lays stress on its character as a close corporation, thus contrasting with the "selectmen" of Massachusetts who were subject to popular election. The former he treats as the result of usurpation. The question of the development of the "selectmen" or "committee of assistance," out of the body of parishioners, and of their further development into the select vestry, is admitted to be of some difficulty, and we doubt if Dr. Channing has heard of the select vestry at Braintree, in Essex, a most instructive instance in a Puritan district, of which Morant says that it had, in his day (1768), "existed immemorially" for parish business. The curious instrument by the Bishop of London (1612) establishing, if not restoring it, as a close corporation, deserves to be carefully studied.

We gather from Dr. Channing's scholarly treatise that the early emigrants carried over with them several well-known village offices, such as those of the tithingmen, haywards, fenceviewers, constables, and, in Virginia, it would seem, of the landlookers. It is curious to trace the persistence in the "New England" of these and other relics of old England life.

*Catalogue of Books in the Library of the British Museum printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Books in English printed abroad, to the year 1640.* (London, Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1884.) 3 vols. 8vo. In double columns.

A bibliographical work, emanating from a learned institution, which should enjoy peculiar facilities for carrying out the details to approximate perfection, is apt to kindle the most agreeable expectations, and to whet the appetite of the antiquary.

We desire to speak respectfully of a book, which deals with one of the progressive sciences, and for which, in sober seriousness, it would have been the rashest optimism to predict absolute freedom from error. But the volumes before us are eminently and painfully disappointing. If the Catalogue had been rendered voluminous by the unavoidable amplitude of its contents, no one would have complained, except persons with weak wrists; but it has been rendered so by the most irritating redundancy. At the same time the inconvenience of a hard-and-fast chronological line is proved at every turn by the imperfect or even fragmentary representation of authors who published both before and after 1640, or of whose labours repeated editions subsequent to that date are in the Library. For example, Sir John Suckling has only the *Discontented Colonel* under his name, a drama probably printed after 1640, while the Catalogue omits, or the Museum does not possess, his *Aglaura*, 1638. The motive for a peremptory limit in point of time seems to have been the exclusion of the Civil War tracts; but in capable hands we apprehend that the entire body of Early English Literature to the Restoration might have fallen within the same compass. The work is neither one thing nor the other; too copious for a general manual, for an exhaustive bibliography it is very far from sufficiently so.

The method, in the first place, follows implicitly that of the *Instauratio Magna* of Panizzi, the new Manuscript Catalogue of the Museum Library, as to which we shall not here express any opinion; but a plan which in a manuscript unindexed work may have a certain recommendation and excuse, seems to have in a printed work, with an index, no recommendation or excuse whatever. The aim at a scientific arrangement is manifest throughout, yet a publication more at war with science has, we think, never fallen in our way. It is not merely that the pages are occupied by the most useless and annoying repetitions, but a collation of two or three headings is not unfrequently indispensable for a thorough comprehension of the facts. On the other hand, one is pleased to perceive that the press-mark is furnished in each instance, and that the Grenville books are incorporated.

Such is a sketch of the method, the fruit of which has been (not for the benefit of the public in any sense) to expand one volume into three. But we very much regret to have to say that the execution is uniform with the method. There is a fairly luxuriant crop of misprints. Hardly any attempt has been made to bring down the text to the latest information in respect to chronology and authorship; and whereas many an unique article goes without a syllable of note, a lengthy explanation is often offered where none was demanded. From the apparent want of converse with dates, it

has unhappily resulted that items present themselves which have no real *locus standi*, when from that or some other cause others are overlooked. Here and there, or rather *hic et ubique*, we stumble upon the oddest misconceptions and on fallacies long exploded. The index is elaborate, but not all that we could have desired.

*Scientific Papers and Addresses.* By GEORGE ROLLESTON, M.D. Arranged and edited by Professor William Turner, with a biographical sketch by Edward B. Tylor. (Oxford, 1884: Clarendon Press.) 8vo, 2 vols.

It would be superfluous for us to say that these two volumes are of the utmost value to prehistoric archaeologists. Professor Rolleston is so well known as a great authority on anatomy, physiology, and zoology, and as an archaeologist who brought to bear upon the studies of the past his special scientific training and learning, that our readers want little or no introduction to a book which probably they all possess already, or intend shortly to possess. And yet it were ungracious, and a mere shirking of our duty, if we did not bring before their notice the large debt of gratitude due to the Clarendon Press authorities, for publishing in a collected form reprints of addresses and papers which students, though they have read them or listened to them already, will gladly read again and again, and will still more gladly be delighted to possess, without the trouble of searching through various volumes of transactions of learned societies. To another class of students, those who may be following on after Professor Rolleston, these papers will be invaluable; and prefaced as they are by Dr. Tylor's interesting and sympathetic biography, the whole career of Dr. Rolleston stands out as a model to which it will be difficult indeed to approach very near. Our universities are rapidly beginning to realize that archaeology, in its widest and deepest import, is a subject which must rank very high in the learning of the future, and much as we feel disposed to congratulate the country that Dr. Tylor is now located at Oxford as one of the University teachers, we are even more tempted towards feelings of congratulation upon the fact that the University press should have stepped aside to publish such a book as this. It is hopeful, indeed, for the future of archaeological research.

Of the papers contained in this volume, a large proportion deal with prehistoric physiology. After the antiquary has discovered the barrow, has set about fixing its connection with the people who are known to have inhabited in early times the part of the country where it is situated, has excavated it and carefully planned the position, size, and general particulars of the various objects found—after, in fact, he has laid aside his shovel and pickaxe, pen and rule, then began the work of Professor Rolleston. There were traces of man in this barrow—skull, bones, or skeleton. There were traces, too, of man's animal food,—bones of sheep, oxen, or fowl. Or, on the other hand, there were no bones of man to be found, but there were bones of prehistoric animals, who roamed the land unseen or unaffected by man. It was upon all of these subjects that the work of Professor Rolleston was directed, and oftentimes this portion of the work was

by far the most important and conclusive. Many of his reports upon excavations are, of course, not included in the volume before us, but they are to be found appended to the account of the various excavations, as, for instance, that on the bones found at Caesar's camp, Folkestone, when General Pitt-Rivers settled once and for all the age of that famous earth-work. The papers included in the volume are the more general studies of Professor Rolleston upon the Celtic cranium, the prehistoric crania from British Barrows, the people of the Long-barrow period. Occasionally, too, Professor Rolleston steps outside British boundaries, as, for instance, in his extremely valuable paper on the craniology of the Bushmen.

In the second volume, the section on Zoology contains, *inter alia*, papers on the domestic cat, the cat of the ancient Greeks, and the domestic pig of prehistoric times in Britain.

There are also six very important studies on archaeological subjects—researches and excavations carried on in an ancient cemetery at Frilford; remarks on the northern limit of Anglo-Saxon cremation in England, on the three periods known as the iron, bronze, and stone ages; on the structure of round and long barrows; on the character and influence of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England, and jade tools in Switzerland. All these papers are worth special study—they are short, but pre-eminently suggestive. Nowhere, in point of fact, do we remember so practical a paper upon the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England as the one mentioned above. It is the key-note to a host of historical researches which must remain argumentative, even if not hypothetical, when considered without the aid of the buried treasures examined by Professor Rolleston with such distinctive purpose. We cannot say more about the contents of these valuable volumes, but it is right to notice that the fine portrait worthily accompanies Dr. Tylor's noble-minded memoir, which gives so many traits of the boy-life and man-life that make the recollection of Dr. Rolleston dear to all who knew him.

*A Delineation of the Courtney Mantelpiece in the Episcopal Palace at Exeter*, by ROSCOE GIBBS. With a biographical notice of the Right Reverend Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, 1478, to which is added a description of the Courtenay mantelpiece compiled by MARIA HALLIDAY. (Private circulation.) Torquay, 1884. 4to, pp. i, 34.

All parties have done their work well in this very handsome volume, and not the least, we must in fairness say, is the local printer, who has produced a specimen of typography creditable indeed. Mr. Gibbs has given seventeen beautiful drawings of the episcopal palace and the several details connected with this mantelpiece, besides the folio drawing of the mantelpiece itself. It is well worthy of such distinction; being a beautiful piece of mediæval art, of most elaborate workmanship. It was erected by Dr. Peter Courtenay. Mrs. Halliday gives a very sympathetic biographical notice of the Bishop, and altogether the book has that rare quality of taking its reader for the time into close contact with the age to which it relates. The heraldic features of the mantelpiece are not the least

interesting part about it from a purely antiquarian point of view; but the details and the whole design are such as to move our admiration for the men of old, and our despair at getting anything again approaching to the standard. For a description of the work in all its beautiful detail we cannot find space at present, although our readers would doubtless be glad enough to possess some quotations on the subject.

*Bible Folklore, a Study in Comparative Mythology.* By the Author of *Rabbi Jeshua*. (London, 1884: Kegan Paul.) 8vo, pp. vii, 355.

*Bible Myths* would have been the more correct title of this book, because there is not much of folklore, properly speaking, in it. That the Bible contains in its historical books much archaic custom, legend, and tradition there is no room for doubt, but we venture to question whether everything legendary is also mythical. The author has got something of value to say and suggest, but he spoils it by the wholesale manner in which he deals with subjects which, having some accidental quality bearing upon myths, are thenceforth themselves turned into myths. To the school of Sir George Cox and the comparative mythologists, however, this book will doubtless be most acceptable; because it has the merit of being very thoroughgoing. It possesses the merit of giving full reference to all the quotations needed to deal with the problems it sets itself to work out. The author justly claims that the comparative method should be applied to the Bible as to other great religious books, and he thereby shows the relationship of the Hebrew Bible to the Hindu and other writings.

*The East Anglian; or, Notes and Queries on Subjects connected with the Counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, and Norfolk.* Edited by the Rev. C. H. EVELYN WHITE. Part I. (Ipswich, 1815: Pawsey & Hayes.) 8vo.

The first part of the new series of this useful periodical is accompanied by a *facsimile* of Speed's map of ancient Ipswich, a feature for which we cannot but express our cordial satisfaction. We have always persistently advocated the usefulness and value of these local publications, and we are glad to welcome this attempt to bring again into life the *East Anglian Notes and Queries*, which was stopped about twenty years ago. It contains articles on Norfolk Bondsmen in blood; certificates of Suffolk Church goods 6 Edw. VI.; ancient crosses of East Anglia; Roman remains discovered at Felixstowe; old Norfolk worthies of a century ago; inscription in Hunstanton Churchyard; Letter from Nathaniel Bacon to the Bailiffs of Ipswich; Jay family; King Edmund; Hales' family; Rev. Mr. Horn of Norwich; Prince of Wales' feathers in churches; Framsdon, Suffolk. The editor appeals for assistance in the new series, and he deserves it.

*The Market-Crosses of Nottingham.* By JOHN E. GODFREY. (Nottingham, 1884: J. Perry.) 8vo, pp. II (illustrated).

One of the good results of the publication of the "Borough Records of Nottingham" is the production

of this interesting little pamphlet on a subject which has far more than local interest. We hope Mr. Godfrey will continue his investigations.

*Our Parish Books and what they tell us: Holy Cross, Westgate, Canterbury.* By J. MEADOWS COWPER. Vol. I. (Canterbury, 1884: Cross & Jackman.) 8vo, pp. iii, 150.

It is well known that our parish books in early days tell us all about the social life of the people. The parish was then the local institution which, deriving its powers from ancient rights and unwritten laws, took upon itself duties and responsibilities which are now left to the individual family, or are else neglected. Mr. Cowper's little volume is just as instructive as others of the same class, and we can pick out some items of expense which take us back to times which, rightly or wrongly, we still call the good old times. All sorts of expenses are here recorded, not the least interesting being those relating to the funerals of the parishioners. Is Mr. Cowper right, however, in styling the law that compelled corpses to be buried in woollen "a tax in disguise"? The practice was certainly more wholesome than that now adopted. Mr. Cowper does not give many notes, which is to be regretted in some sense; but the records are made to speak for themselves, and this is a great gain to the student. We would, however, recommend to him as a *patern* for his future volume Mr. Peacock's editions of Churchwardens' Accounts published in *Archæologia*. Mr. Cowper's two notes on "Crocker Lane" and "Fetherbedd dryer" are specimens of what we should like to see much extended. We hope in his second volume he will give a good index of subjects and names—the study of the latter being particularly assisted by such useful little books as the one before us.



## Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

### METROPOLITAN.

**Society of Antiquaries.**—Dec. 11th.—Mr. Freshfield in the chair.—Mr. Everard Green contributed a paper on the words "O Sapientia," which occur in the Calendar of the Book of Common Prayer against December 16th. This is one of the *Antiphonæ Majores*, all of which commence with "O," which were introduced into the Service of the Church before 804 A.D.

**Royal Society of Literature.**—Dec. 17th.—Mr. Joseph Haynes in the chair.—Mr. R. N. Cust gave an account of a trip to the regions of the Midnight Sun, at the North Cape, Norway, which he had accomplished in June last, the only period of the year when it is feasible.

**Royal Historical Society.**—Dec. 18th.—Mr. Shenton in the chair.—Mr. R. Walker read a paper on "Fiji: Its Peoples, Traditions, and Customs."

**New Shakspeare.**—Dec. 12th.—The Rev. W. A. Harrison in the chair.—Miss Leigh-Noel's third and last division of her paper "On Shakspeare's Garden of Girls" was, in the absence of the writer, read by Mr. S. L. Lee.—Mr. F. J. Furnivall read some notes, by Mr. W. G. Stone, "On the Textual Difficulties in *Measure for Measure*" as treated in the editing of the "old-spelling" Shakspeare.

**Royal Asiatic Society.**—Dec. 15th.—Sir W. Muir, President, in the chair.—Mr. R. N. Cust, hon. secretary, read a paper "On the Languages of the Russian Province of the Caucasus," illustrating his remarks by a reference to a large map of that region.

**Royal Archæological Institute.**—Dec. 4th.—Mr. Bain in the chair.—The Rev. Joseph Hirst communicated an account of the efforts now being made to clear the huge accumulation of *débris* from the summit of the Acropolis. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope read a paper on the Augustinian Priory of the Holy Trinity at Repton, Derbyshire.

**Numismatic.**—Dec. 18th.—Dr. J. Evans in the chair.—Mr. Roach Smith exhibited two gold coins of Allectus, one of which had for reverse type a lion, probably a copy of a similar coin in silver of Gallienus.—Mr. Fowkes exhibited a Bahama half-penny dated 1807.—Mr. T. W. Greene communicated a paper on Renaissance medals in relation to antique gems and coins.—Mr. W. Wroth communicated a paper on the Santorin find of 1821, with which he connected several unclassified coins in the British Museum.

**Anthropological Institute.**—Dec. 9th.—Professor Flower, President, in the chair.—Sir John Lubbock read a paper on "Marriage Customs and Relationships among the Australian Aborigines." Many tribes are divided into families or gentes, and no man may marry a woman of his own gens. These divisions often extend through many tribes and over hundreds of miles. But while these restrictions are imposed on marriage, on the other hand, in one sense, every man is considered as a husband of every woman belonging to the gens with which he is permitted to marry; so that, as Messrs. Fison and Howitt forcibly put it, he may have 1,000 miles of wives. "Communal marriage" (as he had proposed to call it) was no doubt aboriginal, and founded on natural instincts. But how did the institution of "individual marriage" arise? "Individual marriage" cannot be derived from "communal marriage," because, however much the gentes may be subdivided, the wives must remain in common with the gens. Sir John Lubbock had suggested that while, in such a state of things, no man could appropriate a woman belonging to his own tribe exclusively to himself, still, if he captured one belonging to another tribe, he thereby acquired an individual and peculiar right to her, and she became his exclusively, no one else having any claim to, or property in, her. He considered that this explained the prevalence of the form of capture in marriage, which was first pointed out by the late Mr. McLennan, but which Mr. McLennan attributed to the prevalence of exogamy, or the custom of marrying outside the tribe; while, on the contrary, Sir John Lubbock maintained that individual marriage was founded on capture, because this could alone give a man an exclusive right. This view

has recently been contested by Messrs. Fison and Howitt, but Sir John replied in detail to their arguments, and supported his suggestion by strong evidence, some even taken from their own work.—The Director (Mr. Rudler) read a paper on "The Jeraeil; or, Initiation Ceremonies of the Kurnai Tribe," by Mr. A. W. Howitt, in which the author gave a detailed account of a Jeraeil, at which he himself was present, and drew attention to the manner in which it differs from, or has resemblance to, "The Kuringal of the Murring."

**Philological Society.**—December 19th.—Professor Skeat, President, in the chair.—Mr. James Lecky read a paper on the phonetic theory of verse. He considered that to analyse English verse on a phonetic basis necessitated a departure from the conventional prosody at several points. The current orthography must for this purpose be replaced by a phonetic notation, providing signs for all the significant sounds, as well as for at least three degrees of stress and five of length.

**Geologists' Association.**—January 2nd.—Dr. Henry Hicks, the President, read a paper "On some Recent Views concerning the Geology of the North-west Highlands." He stated that as the *Proceedings* of the Association contained several papers dealing with the controversy concerning the rocks of the North-west Highlands of Scotland, he thought it advisable to call the attention of the members to views contained in an important article published in *Nature*, November 13th, by the Director-General of the Geological Survey; and in a "Report on the Geology of the North-west of Sutherland," by Messrs. Peach and Horne, in the same number, which cannot fail either to change entirely the future character of the controversy, or bring it rapidly to a satisfactory issue.

#### PROVINCIAL.

**Manchester Geological Society.**—Dec. 3rd.—Mr. Jos. Dickinson in the chair. Professor Boyd Dawkins read a paper on some deposits of apatite near Ottawa, Canada, and Mr. C. E. de Rance contributed notes on the occurrence of brine springs in coal measures.

**York Architectural Association.**—Dec. 18th.—Mr. John Perry read a paper of some considerable length and detail on the applicability of classic architecture to modern structures.

**Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.**—Dec. 2nd.—The annual general meeting, Dr. Arthur Mitchell, Vice-President, in the chair.—The office-bearers for the ensuing year were elected. The annual report showed that the number of visitors to the Museum for the past year had been 94,396; that the number of articles presented had been 4,181, and the number added by purchase 5,277. The new volume of the *Proceedings*, it was announced, would be ready for issue at the usual time in January.

**Edinburgh Architectural Association.**—Dec. 2nd.—The President, Mr. G. Washington Browne, in the chair.—Mr. James Anderson read a paper entitled "Roofing Slates and Slating." Mr. Anderson said that the Scotch style was to use thick slates of various



sizes, arranged before commencing, and fixed to sarking-boards. The largest slates were put on at the eaves, and they diminished in size to the ridge. The tile-stones or grey slates of Forfar and Caithness were those with which a large portion of Old Edinburgh had been slated. They were hung on laths with pins of oak, pine, and other woods, as well as with the bones of small animals.

**Essex Geologists' Association.**—Dec. 19th.—Mr. Raphael Meldola gave a preliminary account of his investigation of the Essex Earthquake, on the 22nd of April, 1884, with special reference to the geology of the question.

**Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.**—Dec. 10th.—Colonel Cockell in the chair.—The first communication was given by the President, on a "Second Capture of *Acanthocinus aedilis* in Bath." This rare specimen of the Longicorn, taken in Bath on the 29th October last, is rather larger than the one taken last year, and was found in a timber-yard in the Bristol Road, and supposed to have been imported in the timber, which was from America, in the larva state.—Mr. Williams then gave a paper, on the "History of the British Owls."

**Cambridge Philological Society.**—Nov. 27th.—Prof. Skeat, President, in the chair.—Dr. Fennell offered some observations on the "Stanford" Dictionary.

**Cambridge Antiquarian Society.**—Dec. 1st.—The Rev. H. R. Luard, D.D. (Vice-President) in the chair.—Baron A. von Hügel and Professor Hughes described the contents of a Roman rubbish-hole, which formed one of a number of similar pits occurring just outside the camp at Great Chesterford. Among the animal remains found were bones of a small horned ox, apparently of a domestic breed, derived from *Bos longifrons*, but generally larger than the specimens found in the fens; of the sheep, pig, fox, and cat also remains were found. This was the second time that the bones of what appears to be the common cat have been found among Roman remains at Chesterford. The partridge, oyster, mussel, whelk, and two species of snail were also represented. Of other objects they drew special attention to the bone needles, bricks, and flanged, grooved, and perforated tiles, nails and other pieces of iron—some of which might have been in the wood used for firing, but some of which probably belonged to the buildings above noticed. About two-thirds down a large piece of squared timber was found, six feet in length and one foot across, with marks of rust and nails in it. Of pottery several nearly perfect and very beautifully ornamented vessels were found, especially near the bottom. There were several flat dishes of a coarser ware, and fragments of ordinary urns occurred in abundance. There were some pieces of Samian ware—one with the potter's mark, Conatius F., and another with the two final letters of the name and OF. There was also a third brass of Claudius II. picked up below the pit—but its position in the ware was not seen. The author described three sepulchral mounds near Crosby Ravensworth, in Westmoreland. The first, which was in a wood near Harbourwain, had been raised over a contiguous group of graves formed by arranging large irregular stones, chiefly derived from the drift and surface blocks, in such a manner as to

form a double series of chambers, some of which appeared to have been covered by slabs. In these graves he had found only charred wood. The next mound described was situated on the unenclosed moor between Crosby Ravensworth and Shap Wells. In general plan it was the same as the last. A fine clay, evidently carried there, occurred in some of the graves. In this tumulus the skeleton of a man of very large stature was found, and fragments of a sepulchral urn of the type known as British. It was about eight inches in height with a shoulder, and was covered with alternate bands of indented horizontal lines and oblique markings. There was also a small fragment of a neolithic flintstone implement. The third cairn was one of small size lying south of the road over Bank Moor, between Orton and Appleby. In this he had found the remains of four individuals. The mode of interment seemed to be as follows. The surface soil and loose blocks of limestone were removed, a small grave some 3 by 1½ feet was thus formed, which was irregularly lined with small flat stones. There was often a larger flat stone under the head. The body was placed on its side with the legs and arms doubled up. Stones were placed across those that formed the sides, but apparently with no great care. The graves were not contiguous as in the other two cairns. The skeletons were small, and probably indicated a stature of under five feet. There was no trace of fire nor any fragment of urn found. In the S.W. part of the cairn, at some distance from the skeletons, was a beautifully finished gold-plated bronze buckle, on the flat plate of which was what looked like a heraldic device—a lion passant regardant on a punctured field in a plain border. Below this were a few pieces of the bones of some large animal, probably a horse. Professor Hughes exhibited some mediæval objects found in digging the foundations of the new post office. Also, from the same locality, a curious figure in coarse ware of a man whose face was deeply sunk in a hood, which was covered with circular markings, giving the whole somewhat the character of chain armour. Also from the same locality a small late mediæval glass bottle. He exhibited six metal mortars also, some ornamented and some with almost obliterated marks like lettering. These were of a type still in use, but were themselves, he thought, of considerable antiquity. Also a pilgrim's bottle with a rich impressed ornamentation.—Dr. Bryan Walker commented on the ancient camps in Wiltshire and the adjoining counties.

**Glasgow Archæological Society.**—Oct. 18th.—Mr. J. Wyllie Guild in the chair.—Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan referred to the death of Mr. James Napier, an old member of the Society. During a long period Mr. Napier served on the Council of the Society, in whose work he took a warm interest.—On behalf of the claims of the Folklore Society, Mr. William George Black then made some remarks.—Professor Ferguson gave "An account of a copy of the *Speculum Majus* of Vincent de Beauvais, 1473." The book, which was the largest published in the fifteenth century, went through several editions at that time, and was a popular encyclopædia of knowledge. It was a valuable work from its contents, because it gave extracts from books and manuscripts which had dis-

appeared. The only copies in this country, besides his own, so far as he knew, were those in the Bodleian Library and British Museum. One fact of some interest in connection with the book was that it was probably the first printed at Strasburg with cast type. In *Bibliographical Notes on Histories and Books of Secrets*, Part iii., he referred to editions of books he had already mentioned, some of them being great rarities.—On the battle of Langside a long and learned paper was read by Mr. A. M. Scott, who gave numerous details of a historical and topographical character.

**Essex Archæological Society.**—December.—The members of this society met at Chelmsford. St. Mary's parish church was visited under the guidance of Mr. Frederic Chancellor, and in the evening a meeting was held at the Museum, when, in addition to the usual exhibits, a loan collection was on view, including rubbings from Essex brasses lent by Mr. E. Corder.—The members afterwards proceeded to the Shire Hall, where a paper was read by Mr. F. Chancellor on "Old Chelmsford," who described a Roman dwelling discovered by himself in Moulsham in 1849, the first trace of the Roman occupation in the town, and remarked that other Roman remains had since been found.—Mr. H. W. King, honorary secretary of the society, read a paper on "The Ancient Guilds, Chuntries, and Obits of Chelmsford;" and the Rev. W. B. Gibbons read a paper on "Organic Remains found at Chigwell."



### The Antiquary's Note-Book.

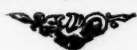
**A Law Suit about a Celebrated Engraving.**—Thursday, July 2nd, 1801. In the King's Bench. *Delatre v. Copley*.—This was an action brought by the plaintiff, an engraver, against the defendant, a painter, to recover the sum of £650, being the remainder of the sum of £800 which the defendant undertook to pay to the plaintiff for engraving, upon a smaller or contracted scale, the resemblance of the picture of the "death of Lord Chatham," which the plaintiff was to do from a larger engraving, executed by Bartolozzi, from a drawing of Cipriani, etc. The plaintiff had executed this piece of engraving, which took him three years and upwards to perform; and Bartolozzi had 2,000 guineas for that of which his was to be the copy. It appeared, by the evidence of Mr. Bartolozzi, that this piece of engraving was very well executed, considering it was a copy three times removed from the original, that is, a copy of a copy, etc., and that it was upon a reduced scale, which made it the more difficult to preserve the likenesses of all the figures in the group of the piece, which are fifty-two in number; that the plaintiff was a man of very considerable skill in his profession; and, as a proof that such was the opinion of Mr. Bartolozzi, he himself employed him in the engraving a part of the other work, for which he gave him 700 guineas,

etc.; that the piece of engraving in question was certainly the best performance of the plaintiff's graver, and such as ought to have satisfied Mr. Copley; but who, Mr. Bartolozzi thought, was never to be satisfied with the performance of any engraver who had to engrave for him in imitation of any of his pictures, and therefore he was dissatisfied with this performance, etc.: copies of it were produced, as well as of Bartolozzi's. Mr. Erskine, in cross-examining the witness, desired him to compare minutely the two prints together. "Do you see, Sir," said he, "in your own, the youngest son of Lord Chatham, in a naval uniform, bending forward, with a tear in his eye, and a countenance displaying the agony of an affectionate son, on beholding a dying father? and do you not see in the other an assassin, with a scar upon his cheek, exulting over the body of an old man whom he has murdered? In the one, you observe the late minister, a thin, fair-complexioned, genteel-looking man; in the other, a fat, round-faced, grim-visaged negro. In the one, the Archbishop of York appears in his true colours, as a dignified and venerable prelate; in the other, his place is usurped by the drunken parson in Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress*. In the one, the Earl of Chatham is supported by his son-in-law, Lord Stanhope, a figure tall, slender, and elegant; and does not the other offer to view a short sturdy porter of a bagnio lugging home an old debauchee who had got mortal drunk?" Mr. Bartolozzi allowed that some of the portraits were not exactly like, but maintained that the piece was well executed upon the whole. Thirteen other witnesses were called on the part of the plaintiff, consisting of engravers, painters, and printsellers. Mr. Thomas Ryder, Mr. Byrne, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Dickens, Mr. Landseer, Mr. Neigle, Mr. Smith, Mr. Arnaud, Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Evans, Mr. Cole, Mr. Moltino, and Mr. Baker. The amount of the evidence of all these witnesses was, that the print of the plaintiff's was a very good copy from Mr. Bartolozzi's print, and that £800 was not too large a sum for it. Mr. Erskine, after stating the law on the subject, and observing on the evidence for the plaintiff, called also fourteen witnesses, who were engravers or painters. Sir Wm. Beechy, Mr. Conway, Mr. Copley, junior, Mr. President West, Mr. Hopner, Sir Francis Bourgeois, Mr. Holloway, Mr. Josiah Boydell, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Fitler, Mr. Collier, and Mr. Opie. The substance of their evidence was, that this being an historical composition on a modern subject, all the figures that were introduced (and there were near sixty of them) were portraits. The great circumstance that recommended the original picture was the likenesses of the figures introduced. In proportion as the likenesses were strong, the public at large admired it; and in proportion as it was deficient in that, they condemned it. When such a composition went abroad, foreigners not being so much interested in the likenesses of the figures introduced, attended chiefly to the executive power and composition of the artist. The witnesses said the print of the plaintiff was extremely deficient in the likenesses of the figures; and, from the taste and abilities with which other parts of the print were executed, it was supposed that this defect proceeded more from want of attention than of skill in the plaintiff; that Mr.

Copley could not take and publish the print consistently with a due attention to his own character and reputation; that it was the duty of an engraver, who engaged to copy a print, to copy correctly and accurately the likenesses; and, from the defect of this print in that respect, it could be of no service to the defendant.—The jury, after withdrawing for about ten minutes, found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages £650.

**Winchester Cathedral Library.**—The library is in good condition. It chiefly consists of books left by Bishop Morley, with books added from time to time by the Dean and Chapter. Bishop Morley made it a condition that his books should not be taken out of the library; the other books are taken out occasionally by other persons than members of the Cathedral body, under certain rules. See *Cathedral Commission Report on Winchester Cathedral*, 1884 (C-4235).

**Rochester Civic Mace.**—In Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense* is a copy of "an agreement between the Bishop and Convent of Rochester and the Mayor and Citizens of the same concerning the privileges of the Cathedral Church and of the aforesaid city," made in the year 1447, during the episcopacy of Bishop John Lowe. One clause of the agreement, which is in Latin, reads thus—The same bishop for himself and his successors, with the consent of the prior and chapter also grants that John, who is now mayor (ballivus), and likewise all his successors, mayors of Rochester, may cause to be carried before themselves their club or clubs (clavas) called their maces not only to and into the parish church, but likewise in the cathedral church and churchyard, particularly on festival days and at solemn processions and sermons, and at receiving and installing of bishops and also on other similar occasions.—(C. BUKARD.)



## Antiquarian News.

Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., the well-known historian and antiquary, died on the 4th January. We hope to say something about his works in a special obituary notice next month. His loss will be greatly felt by a very wide circle of friends.

A remarkable story comes from Easter Island. Mr. Palmer visited this island in 1868, but since then and up to about a year ago, little, if any, fresh light had been thrown upon its wonders. In August of last year, however, a Doctor Charles Holland proceeded in a whaling vessel to the island, and returned to England *via* South America a few months ago. On nearly every headland round the coast are enormous platforms of stone. Instead of the platforms being solid, as was originally supposed, they have been discovered to be hollow, or at any rate one has. Dr. Holland found this out through a landslip, caused by an earthquake taking place, and exposing to view a vast vault or series of vaults under the platform. In these vaults were hundreds of statues elaborately carved, and ornamented with various articles of bronze and silver. They were ranged in regular order on

terraces rising one above the other, and on the breast of each were carved a number of curious hieroglyphics, which he took to be the names of the gods, or person to be represented, while the walls were also covered with symbolic signs. Some of the figures were tattooed, while others were not, and nearly all the former were wrapped round with a sort of thick cloak made of some beautifully woven and dyed vegetable fibre. No warlike implements of any description were found, but there were numbers of earthenware and bronze bowls and cups. "The faces," says Dr. Holland, "bear a most striking resemblance to the Maoris, and the statues, as a whole, show wonderful skill in carving, the very veins and muscles being brought out with great fidelity and distinctness." He could find no tools but a few stone chisels, but he is satisfied the work could never have been executed with these alone. What appeared to be large urns were found in the centre of the main vault on a raised platform of stone, but they contained nothing except dust.

An old instrument has recently been discovered and purchased by Messrs. Pohlmann & Son, the pianoforte makers. It is the oldest pianoforte in England, and was made by Johannes Pohlmann in 1768. This curious old instrument was formerly in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, and it was sold among the furniture about the year 1840, at Michendon House, Southgate, to a gentleman, by whose family the piano has been used until quite recently. This little square piano has five octaves (except one note), and three levers in place of pedals, one as a forte stop for the treble, the second for the bass, and the third to give the *piano* effect, similar in principle to the celeste or harp pedal now in use for upright pianofortes.

A famous link connecting the Manchester of the past with the present is about to be swept away. Stocks House, on the Cheetham Hill Road, formerly the residence of Mr. Gilbert Winter, at whose hospitable board Dickens, Forster, Harrison Ainsworth, and other celebrities were entertained, and subsequently the abode of the late president of the Chetham Society, Mr. James Crossley is shortly to be demolished.

Several Indian burying-mounds have lately been discovered on Rainy River, in Algoma, and a few of them opened. Professor Bryce, of Winnipeg, excavated the first last summer, and discovered in it an unbroken vase of baked earthenware. In another, recently examined by Mr. David Young, the form of a man was found in the usual sitting position, facing the east, with the arms crossed on the breast. The figure was entire, and pieces of pottery were beside it, as well as a large spearhead of granite. Many bones were found, but seemed as if buried promiscuously. Two excavations made by Mr. Crowe resulted in the finding of a body in a sitting posture, encased in birch bark. Other minor finds have been made, including some vases, which fell to pieces on exposure to the air. Mr. Lawson, of the Geological Survey, opened two mounds at the mouth of the Little American River, and found copper beads and utensils, as well as three white vases similar to those found by Professor Bryce.

While two men were engaged in cutting a drain on land belonging to Mr. Ferguson, near Beaumont, Cumberland, they came upon a large quantity of coins of the reign of Edward I. and King David I. of Scotland. One of the men had his hat full of the coins, while the other had nearly as many. The coins were buried beneath a round stone close to the surface of the earth, and had evidently been enclosed in a bag or some other covering, as a mouldy substance was observed when the coins were discovered. The coins are in an excellent state of preservation.

The railway excavations on the Soke at Winchester have yielded not only several skeletons, but very recently some handsome Roman vases, which were found near the site of a Roman villa perched on a sheltered slope of the present St. Giles' Hill, and from which, doubtless, the cultivated but provincial Romano-Briton enjoyed himself, and viewed the Roman city with its stately public buildings within the walls, and its garrison of mercenaries or provincial troops, for no legionary stones have been found, we believe, in Winchester. The vases were of the dark grey and brown ware, are very elegant in shape, and were doubtless domestic vessels. They are, with other "finds," in the appreciative care of Mr. Scott, the engineer of this part of the line, and this gentleman has a handsome Samian vase and also a fine Saxon spear-head found on the Downs, near the skeleton of its owner. Amongst the pottery are examples of Samian, Upchurch, and New Forest ware.

A curious discovery of an ancient burial-place is reported from Sweden by Dr. Hjalmar Stolpe. Each of the graves, marked by a slight dip in the ground, contained a large boat, about ten metres in length. In each boat lay the corpse of the warrior, in full armour, with his lance, helmet, shield, and other accoutrements; near the boat lay his horse, his dog, and his hawk. Other animals, such as oxen, sheep, and geese, were also required to accompany their lord to Valhalla. The first and best of these graves was damaged by the workmen while excavating. Of the boats little remained but the iron nails, but a rich treasure of objects in iron, bronze, silver, gold, and glass was saved to give evidence of a thousand years ago. Some of the graves had evidently been disturbed by robbers in past times.

The grand old elm tree which stood on Ham Green, in the village of Holt, Wilts, which was of immense height and considerable girth, was blown down on December 20th last, during a severe gale of wind from the north-west, and completely wrecked the cottage of a plasterer, who lived near.

In the course of the excavations at San (Zoan Tanis) there have been disclosed several portions of a red granite colossal statue of Rameses II., which, when whole, must have been the largest statue known. It appears to have been a standing figure of the usual type, crowned with the crown of Upper Egypt, and supported up the back by a pilaster. Judging from the dimensions of various parts, such as the ear and the instep, and comparing the proportionate size of the cartouches (which are three feet wide) with those engraved upon other statues, this colossus must have been ninety-eight feet high from the foot to the

crown. Together with its pedestal, which we can scarcely doubt was in one piece with it, it would altogether be about 115 feet high. The great toe measures 18 inches across. That it was a monolith is almost certain from the fact that all the largest statues are without any joint; nor does this seem incredible, since there are obelisks nearly as long. But this may claim to have been the tallest and heaviest statue that we know of, as the figure alone would weigh 700 tons, to which the accessories would probably add as much again. A total weight of 1,200 tons is most likely under, rather than over, the actual sum. The statue had been cut up into building blocks by Sheshank III., and used in the construction of the great pylon; hence only small pieces of a few tons each are now to be seen.

A public meeting was recently held at Stratford-on-Avon to promote the restoration of the parish church, the edifice in which Shakspeare was baptized, and where he also lies buried. As the church is in good repair, there is not even the excuse of structural decay for this restoration, and we hope it may be stopped.

Two skeletons which have been discovered at Welbeck Abbey, the Duke of Portland's Nottinghamshire seat, are supposed to be the remains of persons connected with the old abbey before the present mansion was erected. Skeletons have been found at Welbeck from time to time. Those now disinterred are of full-grown male persons, and are in a good state of preservation, notwithstanding they must have been buried for several hundred years.

Archæological "finds" of some interest are still being made in the neighbourhood of Martigny. In the first week of December a subterranean stove was unearthed. The coins which have been discovered prove, what had already been conjectured, that the original building, supposed to be a Pagan temple, had been broken down, and re-erected for Christian worship about the year 347.

Prince Torlonia's museum of Greek art at the Villa Albani, Rome, will be opened early in 1885.

The archaeologist, M. Saillard, has discovered the workshop of a prehistoric armourer or smith on a steep rock by the sea on the south-west side of the peninsula of Quiberon (Brittany). It dates from the Stone Age. Polished lances, arrow-heads, axes, and other objects are represented in great numbers and in every stage of manufacture, so that the discovery is most interesting, inasmuch as the objects illustrate the workman's method and process. Amongst the objects is also a meteoric stone worked into an implement. The skeleton of the workman was also found, the skull being very well preserved.

Recent excavations at Worms brought to light about 400 metres of Roman pavement and a large number of objects of great interest, including some which afford a hint to manufacturers, namely, pieces for playing a game such as draughts, made of glass.

The parish church of Winslow has been re-opened after restoration. The church consists of a nave of four bays, a large chancel, western tower, and north and south aisles, and a fine porch on the south side. The whole of the galleries have been cleared away,



the ancient windows restored on the south and west fronts, where modern doorways existed for many years past; the ancient doorway on the south side is opened out, and takes the place of a modern window.

The Reredos of Winchester Cathedral is about to be restored, or rather re-peopled, with figures as a memorial to the estimable Churchman, Archdeacon Jacob, recently deceased.

The belfry arch of the Saxon tower of Earl's Barton Church, restored under the direction of Mr. Pearson, has been completed. In opening windows in the west of the tower, which have been built up for a great number of years, three windows were found, the lower one being 4½ feet deep by 20 inches wide. The other two are "bull's eyes," and measure about 18 inches in diameter. The whole of the stonework in one of the windows is in good order, and they are further proofs of the antiquity of the tower.

The fine specimen of mediæval art, a facsimile of which was presented to Prince Albert Victor on the occasion of his coming of age, is said to have been given by King John to the Corporation of Lynn. The cup and cover together weigh 73 oz. It is of silver gilt on the inside, and adorned with richly enamelled devices. It is in fine preservation, and from memoranda engraved upon it, it appears that it has been repaired four separate times. The form of the cup is that of an inverted bell. The figures in enamel on the lid represent a hunting party—the first a lady bearing a hawk, the second has a dog, the third a gentleman carrying a hare, with a dog, the fourth a gentleman with a dog on each side, the fifth is a lady with a bow and arrow, she has with her a dog. Each figure is separated from the other by an ornamental division. At the bottom of the inside of the cup is a Bacchanalian figure, holding in one hand a drinking horn and in the other a hawk. The body of the cup has figures similar in character to those above described, and others appear on the foot. The costumes of the figures display much of the elegance of the dresses of the time of King Edward III., to which period the cup probably belongs.

The men employed in the excavation for the new Tynemouth park at the Spital Dene have come across a quantity of human remains, on the top of the bank to the westward of the Dene. The whole of the skeletons, numbering, as far as they can be put together, twelve or fourteen, are much above the average height of the present generation, one in particular measuring 8 feet 3 inches, the skull being of remarkable size and thickness, and the teeth being in wonderfully perfect condition.

In connection with the Mersey Tunnel, now so rapidly approaching completion, a discovery has been recently announced, in the columns of *Nature*, which is of considerable importance to geologists. It was expected that, during the progress of the works, evidence would be afforded on the question of the pre-glacial river valley, which it was predicted by Mr. T. Mellard Reade would be found to exist below the present valley of the Mersey. Mr. Reade's deductions were based upon certain borings at Widnes and the upper reaches of the Mersey, revealing an unexpected gorge deep below the "drift" on which the town of Widnes stands and connecting the rocky

bed above Runcorn Gap with that below it by a regular gradient. The course of the pre-glacial river was presumed to be in the main identical with that of the existing River Mersey. It now appears that, at about 300 yards from the Liverpool side, the upper part of the tunnel intersects, for a distance of about 100 yards, a gorge filled with boulder clay, containing erratics. The clay is hard, and of the usual type of lower boulder clay elsewhere found resting on the triassic sandstone. Well-rounded boulders of granite, felstone, and greenstone were taken out of the clay. The rock through which the tunnel is cut belongs to the pebble beds division of the bunter sandstone, and was found to be remarkably free from faults. The pre-glacial valley of the Mersey is now, therefore, an admitted fact.

Messrs. Longman will publish shortly a work by Mr. J. Theodore Bent, entitled "The Cyclades: a Life among the Insular Greeks," containing accounts of folklore and archaeological researches during two winters spent on these islands. It is understood that Mr. Bent will shortly continue his explorations among the Sporades.

Dr. Marshall has in the press a second edition of *The Genealogist's Guide*, which will be ready in February. The work has been carefully revised, and references to the principal works on the Peerage and Baronetage, Notes and Queries, and to many books omitted in the first edition have been added, and current publications brought down to date. This new edition will contain nearly seven hundred pages of references to printed pedigrees, and may therefore be considered as nearly exhaustive as it is possible to render a book of the kind.

The excavations undertaken at Sunium by the German Archaeological Institute have been rewarded with results of considerable importance. The ground-plan of the temple of Athene has been fully ascertained. It appears that the longer side of the building had thirteen columns, not twelve, as is indicated in the plan given by Blouet in the *Expédition de Morée*. The frieze, portions of which had been discovered and copied by travellers at various times, has now, it is believed, been entirely recovered, though the sculptures are unfortunately not in a good state of preservation. It has also been ascertained that the marble temple, which dates from the Periclean age, was built over an earlier edifice of calcareous tufa, and followed the same general plan, though the older building was somewhat smaller.

An interesting discovery is reported to have been made by the Governor of Irkutsk in the course of a prolonged inspection of the province, which shows that Siberia is still an unknown country, even to the Russian authorities. His Excellency came across the little town of Ilim, with 500 inhabitants, 160 houses, and four ancient churches, with remarkable relics of Cossack times. It is still under the Republican rule of *vetche*, or public assembly, convoked by a bell, as in old Novgorod the Great, although the new municipal institutions were supposed to have been applied to that part of the Empire ten years ago. Not one of the inhabitants can read or write.

The *Daily Telegraph* Vienna correspondent says

the sorting of Archduke Rainer's valuable collection of papyri has led to further discoveries of the greatest interest. In the Greek section are a number of fragments attributed to Aristotle. In the old list of Imperial papyri written in Greek are specimens attributed to Marcus Aurelius, Severus Alexander, and Philippus the Arabian. There are others of Carus and Licinius. Numerous historical papyri establish the hitherto disputed date when the Emperor Maximinus the Thracian began his reign. Amongst the rare Latin papyri are two receipts of the actuary Sergius, dating from A.D. 398. They are the oldest dated Latin documents in existence. In the same group figures a decree of a provincial governor dating from the fifth century. It is an order to four soldiers of the fifth legion to proceed to Arsinoë el Foajum for the Easter festival, and grants them a remuneration. A Græco-Latin papyrus of the same period contains a report on certain documents of the Prefect Augustalis.

Archæologists have sustained a great loss in the destruction by fire, on the 13th of December of Welford-on-Avon Parish Church and tower. The bells had been rung on the Friday night, and it is supposed that one of the ringer's candles set fire to the matting on the belfry floor, which lay smouldering through the night, and burst out into flame in the early morning. The tower is burnt completely out, leaving only its massive walls standing, and five of the six bells are broken by falling on the floor below. The church is now a complete wreck.

The little Essex village of Chipping Ongar has just had its parish church (dedicated to St. Martin) enlarged by the addition of a new south aisle. Much of the edifice is exceedingly old, and dates from the earliest historic times. Indeed, like St. Albans Abbey tower, a great deal of the fabric seems built of the old Roman remains, so plentiful in the immediate neighbourhood, and the south wall, when taken down to make way for the new arcade, was found, in the main, to be principally composed of Roman tiles and flints concreted together so firmly, that to move the mass was a work of no little difficulty.



## Correspondence.

### WICK.

[*Ante*, vols. x., p. 230; xi., p. 38.]

I would explain, with reference to Mr. Hall's reply, that Sanscrit philology was outside the range of enquiry I proposed. My more modest object was to establish and illustrate the use of the form "wick" in England, not as a proper name, or part of one, but as a common noun, in the sense of a pasture farm. I have since been able to produce in the *Essex Note-Book* striking evidence of such usage, and of the regular occurrence of *wika* "wick," and *wikarius* in the sense of a "dairy-farm" and "dairy-man" respectively. Possibly this usage may be novel to many, if not to most.

Colchester.

J. HORACE ROUND.

### CROSTHWAITE AND LABAN FAMILIES.

Can any of the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* give me any information regarding the Crosthwaite and Laban families? Thomas Crosthwaite in 1744 married Mary Magnay, and died in 1733, aged 69. One of his sons, Leland Crosthwaite, was a governor and director of the Bank of Ireland, and married in 1774 Ann Laban. I believe the Crosthwaites came to Ireland from Crosthwaite, in Cumberland, and I should be glad of any notes on the family, especially prior to 1744; also anything connected with the Labans, of which family I have failed, as yet, to discover any notice.

L. L. D.

### THE TRUE STORY OF THE LEICESTER INQUESTS (1253).

[*Ante*, p. 25.]

In the above article by Mr. J. H. Round, as well as in his previous one in the *Athenæum* of August 9th, headed *The Historical MSS. Commission and the Leicester Records*—both severely criticising Mr. Jeaffreson's report on our Corporation MSS.—my name has been introduced in anything but a complimentary manner. I must therefore ask leave to explain, as briefly as possible, my own position in the matter, and to show that I am not so grossly ignorant of our local history as Mr. Round writes me down.

Soon after the appearance of Mr. Round's first communication, I addressed a personal explanation to the *Athenæum*, which shared the same fate as Mr. Round's rejoinder to Mr. Jeaffreson's reply, and was not inserted, as, in simple justice, I think it ought to have been. I may remark, in starting, that I was quite ignorant of the contents of Mr. Jeaffreson's report—that I never saw it until it appeared in print—and that, therefore, I was no more responsible for it than Mr. Round himself. When I did read it in print I at once saw that Mr. Jeaffreson had unwittingly fallen into some mistakes respecting the literary labours of my old friend and fellow-worker Mr. James Thompson, and as to the period of his death. This fact, however, was nothing very surprising on the part of one who had previously been an entire stranger to Leicester, and to its local history. Had I seen the report in MS. I should, of course, have pointed out these discrepancies for correction, but I did not see it. Mr. Round is therefore palpably wrong in stating that these errors occurred "though he [Mr. Jeaffreson] had the benefit of the assistance of Mr. Thompson's friend, Mr. Kelly."

It is, however, of the following passage, which appears in both Mr. Round's articles, that I chiefly have cause to complain. He writes:—"It is the strangest part of the whole matter that Mr. Jeaffreson associates with himself in his 'discoveries' his 'cordial coadjutor Mr. Kelly, F.S.A.," whom he describes as having been Mr. Thompson's 'comrade in historical service,' and to whose assistance, indeed, Mr. Thompson alludes. Did Mr. Kelly, as a Leicester antiquary, never hear of that 'Essay on Municipal History,' largely based on Leicester archives, and brought out at Leicester in 1867, by his friend Mr. Thompson?"

I think I can soon convince even Mr. Round that I was not so utterly ignorant on this subject as he tries to make me appear.

Mr. Round had previously quoted the following words of Mr. Thompson:—"An ancient book which contains many curious entries relative to the municipal customs of the time *has recently been lent to me for examination, after having lain rather strangely in concealment for many years.*"

Now will Mr. Round be surprised to learn (I think he will!) that the person who lent the ancient "vellum-book" to Mr. Thompson was no other than myself? But such was actually the fact, and under the following circumstances.

Shortly before that time (early in 1851), the old Exchange, in the Market Place, being about to be pulled down, it being the place in which the Petty Sessions of the Borough had long been held—on clearing out the contents of the building, a box was found containing a number of ancient law books, chiefly written on vellum. I was then officially connected with the Corporation, and the box, with its contents, was brought to my office, when, among other volumes, the "vellum-book" and "The Town Book of Acts" (or Bye-Laws), which had disappeared for an unknown period, were brought to light. Knowing how greatly I should delight my friend Mr. Thompson, a few days later I took the "vellum-book" to him and *lent it to him*, and he thus saw it *for the first time*. The immediate result was the appearance of the two papers in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of March and June 1851, as stated by Mr. Round; and, subsequently, of the "Essay on English Municipal History," so deservedly extolled by him; and my copy of which bears on its title-page the inscription—"with the Author's kind regards."

Surely I did know something of this work, and of its history; and had even done more than "hear of it," although Mr. Round supposes me to be so utterly ignorant of it.

Mr. Thompson's valuable *History of Leicester* (the result chiefly of original research), having been published in 1849, its author, of course, had not had access to either the "Town Book of Acts" or the "vellum-book"; and so little, at that time, was known of the true connection of our Earl, Edmund Crouchback, with his burgesses of Leicester, and of his highly important grants to them by his long-lost charter—even the fact of his ever having resided at his Castle of Leicester being unknown—that Mr. Thompson in his *History of Leicester* (p. 92) thus writes of him:

"It has already been stated, at a previous page, that Henry the Third granted the Earldom to his second son Edmund, who was afterwards also Earl of Lancaster. *It does not appear that he did more than receive the revenues of the office, and take large loans of the burgesses.*"

Surely the bringing to light, after it had been lost sight of probably for centuries, the original charter by which our first great Plantagenet Earl under his seal confirmed and enlarged to his burgesses of Leicester the laws and privileges of their ancient Saxon Court of Portmanmote, may be fairly held to be a great "discovery," Mr. Round notwithstanding.

That such a truly important document lay concealed amongst the bundles of old leases, etc., at the bottom of one of the chests in the muniment room at our Guildhall, among the contents of which room we have searched together scores of times, could never have been imagined by either my old friend or myself.

It is but justice to add that I was not actually present when Mr. Jeaffreson "laid his hand" on this treasure, although he has so generously given me credit as a sharer in the "discovery." I had, however, pleasure in rendering him such little assistance in the pursuit of his enquiry as my former knowledge of the records and my leisure would permit.

WILLIAM KELLY, F.S.A.

Leicester, 3rd January, 1885.

#### CROSS-LEGGED EFFIGY IN CHEW MAGNA CHURCH.

[*Ante*, vol. x., pp. 33, 86, 230, 278.]

I have read with a good deal of interest the correspondence as to the supposed existence at Chew Magna of a cross-legged effigy of so late a date as the middle of the fifteenth century, and, having been unable to be present when the Club made their visit in May last, I availed myself of an opportunity a few days since of making a very careful examination of the monument in question. The result has been to thoroughly satisfy me that the present straight legs of the effigy are the original ones, and that they have not been substituted for any crossed legs previously existing. The exact similarity of the stone, and especially of the *workmanship*, are to my mind conclusive. No modern stonemason without the abilities of a first class sculptor, added to a very special knowledge of the details of mediæval armour, could have inserted new legs which so completely follow the general character of the style and work of the upper part of the Effigy, and are so true in every detail to the armour of the period. There is no similar monument in the church, and, I believe, none in the neighbourhood, from which a copy could have been made.

Rutter has no doubt copied from Collinson. I think it not improbable that Collinson made a confusion in his notes between the St. Loe effigy in question and that of Sir John Hautville in the same church. The latter is represented as lying on his left side, resting on his left elbow, the right foot resting on the ground, and the leg drawn up in such a manner as to give at first sight the appearance of a cross-legged effigy—which in the ordinary sense it clearly is *not*. Collinson, it is well known, is by no means accurate in his details of such matters.

I may perhaps be allowed to state that the St. Loe effigy presents some rather unusual features. Although evidently about the date of 1440, he is represented as wearing a tightly-fitting jupon, with heraldic bearings thereon, laced up the side over a skirt of Taces,—the latter only appearing at the openings, and the visored helmet, on which the head rests, has a curtain of mail—in fact, a Camail—attached to it.

Collinson says that the head-dress of the female figure is "like that worn by Mary Queen of Scots." It is the ordinary head-dress of the latter part of the middle of the fifteenth century. The hair is enclosed in a net of rich floriated pattern, very wide over the temples, and very slightly heart-shaped, with a veil or kerchief thrown back over it and falling behind.

JAMES R. BRAMBLE,

Hon. Sec. C. A. C., and Local Member of Council  
British Archaeological Association.

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